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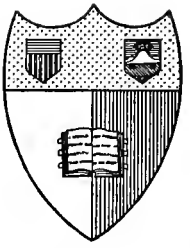

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THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH AND CHRISTIAN REUNION

BEING

THE BAMPTON LECTURES

FOR THE YEAR 1920

BY THE

REV. ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, D.D.

CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH, AND REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

FORMERLY FELLOW OF ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, OXFORD

AND PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON

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EXTRACT

FROM THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

OF THE LATE

REV. JOHN BAMPTON,

CANON OF SALISBURY.

——"I give and bequeath my Lands and Estates to the "Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of "Oxford for ever, to have and to hold all and singular the "said Lands or Estates upon trust, and to the intents "and purposes hereinafter mentioned; that is to say, I "will and appoint that the Vice-Chancellor of the University "of Oxford for the time being shall take and receive all the "rents, issues, and profits thereof, and (after all taxes, "reparations, and necessary deductions made) that he pay "all the remainder to the endowment of eight Divinity "Lecture Sermons, to be established for ever in the said "University, and to be performed in the manner following:

"I direct and appoint, that, upon the first Tuesday in "Easter Term, a Lecturer may be yearly chosen by the "Heads of Colleges only, and by no others, in the room "adjoining to the Printing-House, between the hours of ten "in the morning and two in the afternoon, to preach eight "Divinity Lecture Sermons, the year following, at St. "Mary's in Oxford, between the commencement of the last "month in Lent Term, and the end of the third week in "Act Term.

"Also I direct and appoint, that the eight Divinity "Lecture Sermons shall be preached upon either of the "following Subjects—to confirm and establish the Christian "Faith, and to confute all heretics and schismatics—upon "the divine authority of the holy Scriptures—upon the

"authority of the writings of the primitive Fathers, as to "the faith and practice of the primitive Church—upon the "Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ—upon the "divinity of the Holy Ghost—upon the Articles of the "Christian Faith, as comprehended in the Apostles' and "Nicene Creed.

"Also I direct, that thirty copies of the eight Divinity "Lecture Sermons shall be always printed, within two "months after they are preached; and one copy shall be "given to the Chancellor of the University, and one copy "to the head of every College, and one copy to the mayor "of the city of Oxford, and one copy to be put into the "Bodleian Library; and the expense of printing them shall "be paid out of the revenue of the Land or Estates given "for establishing the Divinity Lecture Sermons; and the "Preacher shall not be paid, nor be entitled to the revenue, "before they are printed.

"Also I direct and appoint, that no person shall be "qualified to preach the Divinity Lecture Sermons, unless "he hath taken the degree of Master of Arts at least, in one "of the two Universities of Oxford or Cambridge; and that "the same person shall never preach the Divinity Lecture "Sermons twice."

PREFACE

In delivering the Bampton Lectures with which the University of Oxford has entrusted me I have been able to fulfil a design which I have had in my mind for more than thirty years.

The subject with which these lectures deal is twofold. There is first the historical problem: What is the origin of the Christian ministry? That is one which has attracted me ever since my undergraduate days. Shortly before I came up to Oxford Dr. Hatch delivered his Bampton Lectures, and these stirred up a renewed interest in a problem which has always been keenly discussed in the Church of England. Just after I took my degree Dr. Lightfoot published his edition of the Epistles of St. Ignatius, where again the problem was one of vital importance. During my early years in Oxford my lecturing was mainly devoted to the text of Eusebius and the problems of Early Church History, and I have, I think, from that time kept myself in touch with almost everything of importance which has been written on the subject. I was first able to put my views into writing in some lectures that I delivered in Westminster Abbey at the request of Dr. Armitage Robinson, then Dean of Westminster. Shortly afterwards I began a series of articles on the subject in the *Church Quarterly Review*. Parts of these have been incorporated in these lectures; and I must express my thanks to the proprietors of that review for giving me permission to do this. My views on the subject have gradually been formed, and although it has not been possible to discuss every detail, I think that, as far as I am myself concerned, the main outlines of the history have become clear. References are made from

time to time to dissertations on particular points; some of those dissertations are partly written, and I should hope, if I receive any encouragement from the reception of this work, to complete them at no distant time in the future.

The second problem that I have had before me has been the practical one, partly dependent upon the historical question, but to a certain extent separated from it: the problem of religious reunion, and in connection with that the somewhat complicated questions which have been raised concerning validity of Orders and Sacraments. Those questions, although always present, became really acute in the discussion about Anglican Orders and their recognition by the Church of Rome which took place in the years 1895-96. To that controversy I have referred in the body of this work. Its effect on myself was to create profound distrust of the methods and theology of the Church of Rome, and at the same time a feeling that we had not sufficiently probed to the bottom the question of what we mean by valid Orders and Sacraments. Moreover, it was impossible not to ask whether our relation towards Nonconformists was not open to just the same criticism as the relation of the Church of Rome towards ourselves.

From time to time also the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession came before me, and I found myself compelled to consider what it meant. On the one side episcopacy, the regular succession of bishops, the solemnity of our orderly administration of the Sacrament of Orders, appealed to me with great force; and, moreover, much of the criticism directed against it seemed to me unhistorical and sectarian. On the other hand, Apostolic Succession as ordinarily taught in the Church of England seemed to be mechanical and entirely unreal. I could not see any marked superiority —often, in fact, there seemed to be real inferiority—in the spiritual life and capacity of our clergy, and Anglicanism, although extraordinarily attractive to me, seemed often to fail in life and effectiveness. When I came to examine the doctrine historically, I was equally surprised and gratified to find how different was the more primitive teaching on the subject from that which was customary in Anglican circles.

Further than that, I was surprised to see what little support the current form of teaching among us had from medieval or even modern Roman Catholic theologians. Their point of view seemed to me a different one, and I began to suspect that here we had an instance of insular disproportion. Those views were embodied in an article which I wrote for the *Prayer-Book Dictionary*, and I was much gratified to find that, as far as regards the earlier period, the historical statement I there made was supported and strengthened by my friend Mr. Turner in his essay published in *The Church and the Ministry*.

A new series of questions were raised by the Kikûyu controversy to which I devoted a series of articles in the *Church Quarterly Review*. The final result that has impressed itself upon my mind is that we have no sufficient justification for condemning the validity of any Orders which are performed with a desire to obey the commands of Christ and fulfil the intentions of the Apostles by prayer and laying on of hands, but, on the other hand, that the Church rule of episcopal ordination, and the fact of Apostolic Succession which has resulted from it, was in the past the great strength of Christian unity, and that the breaking of that rule has been one of the most fruitful causes of disunion. As a result of that conclusion I arrived at the practical solution of the question before us that reunion must come from the mutual recognition of Orders and Sacraments and the establishment of the Catholic rule of episcopacy and episcopal ordination for the future on a firm and regular foundation, and that all churches must approach one another in a spirit of humility, with a desire to work out together the right method of building up the Church, ready to learn from one another, and conscious of their own imperfections rather than of those of others.

It would be impossible within the limits of this preface to express my obligations to all those from whose teaching or books I have learned, but there is one who has lately passed away of whom I should like to say something. Dr. Harold Hamilton, a son of the late Archbishop of Ottawa, a member of Christ Church, and a Doctor of Divinity of the University of Oxford, had devoted himself for many

years to the cause of reunion. His book on *The People of God* is one of the most thoughtful and stimulating presentments of the religious meaning of the Old Testament, of the development of the New Testament from the Old, and of the fundamental principles underlying the rise of the Christian Church. In his life in Canada he was in touch with the various movements towards reunion which were taking place among the different Nonconformist bodies, and assisted them by his advice and learning. Shortly before the war he was anxious to organize a conference amongst various representatives of the Church of England on the question of Orders and the Christian ministry, and the searching questions which he proposed as a preliminary inquiry helped me much in clearing my own mind. He had, at the same time as myself, been invited to become a candidate for the Bampton Lectureship, and would have taken the same subject as I have done, but even then his health was doubtful. He had expended himself in the care of his aged father and mother, both of whom passed away during 1919. He was to have been married in Ottawa in the early morning of Monday, December 15, 1919, but during the Sunday night he was stricken with paralysis and never recovered consciousness until on Saturday evening he quietly passed away. He was buried the day before Christmas Eve. His death is a great loss to the cause of Christian theology and of Reunion, and I am glad to have this opportunity of paying some small tribute to his memory.

In conclusion, I would only express my thanks to those of my friends who have helped me in the correction of the proofs, to Bishop Robertson, to Dr. Nairne, Dr. Watson, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Brightman, and Mr. Burroughs. They have all of them pointed out defects. In some cases I have, I hope, benefited by their criticisms, which will, perhaps, be a foretaste of what I may have to meet when these lectures are published. I would also desire to express my thanks to Miss Catchpool and Miss Isabel Church, who have typewritten these lectures, and have shown much patience in deciphering the intricacies of my handwriting; and to my wife for much assistance with the Index.

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"Wholeheartedly I join in your expression of thankfulness for that spirit of union which has animated us through years of common effort and common sacrifice. I trust that some spirit may remain with us to strengthen our hands for the work of peace and to soften the remembrance of old differences. May we see its fruits in the brotherly co-operation of all in the service of the commonwealth, and in the closer ties of all religious bodies."—HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH AND CHRISTIAN REUNION

LECTURE I

THE ORIGINS OF THE CHURCH

"*That they all may be one.*"—ST. JOHN xvii. 21.

The purpose of these Lectures. The desire for Christian Unity. The method to be followed. The historical method.

The Jewish community. As a race, a nation, and a church. Failure of the national idea. The meaning of a church. The need for such a conception. Its source in Judaism. The word *ecclesia*. The Jewish failure.

The teaching of our Lord. Critical difficulties. The method to be followed.

The Kingdom of Heaven. Its various significations. Its eschatological meaning. Its spiritual meaning. Its use to imply a society. Later interpretations of it.

Discipleship. The Apostolate.

The word *ecclesia* in the Gospels. The commission to Peter, to the Church, and to the Apostles.

The Sacraments: Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Summary of the argument.

Applications of our Lord's teaching and method.

IT is reported that when the British Army entered France the village priests, influenced by a natural instinct of religious and national sympathy, offered the use of their churches for the service of the troops. The authorities of the Roman Church in England intervened. They complained to Rome, and the offer was disallowed. It is reported, again, that on more than one occasion when, on the eve of a great offensive, with the prospect of immediate death before them, pious members of Presbyterian and Nonconformist Churches desired to receive the communion at the hands of a Church of England chaplain, their request was refused.

Now I do not quote these instances for the sake of condemning any individual. The laws of the different religious bodies were probably administered honestly and correctly. I rather quote them as the most speaking illustrations that I know of the deplorable evil of the present divided state of Christendom. Here were two nations joined together in what they believed to be a righteous cause, offering their noblest and best sons freely in one another's service, two great national Churches worshipping the same God, serving the same Master; yet through differences and divisions created many centuries back they were separated in the holiest things of life. Here were men serving side by side in the same army, differing from one another little or nothing in their religious beliefs, prepared to share a common enterprise and common danger. In a few hours their bodies might be lying side by side, stiff and cold, their souls together passing to the great beyond, their lives together to be weighed before the judgement seat of God; yet they could not on earth kneel together before the same altar, through differences of ecclesiastical position which they had had no share in creating, and which were as little a part of themselves as the clothes they wore.

Could we have any better illustration of the evils of a divided Christendom ?

It is this problem that I am going to ask you to discuss in these lectures. It is one the difficulty of which is recognized. There is wide agreement as to the evils of disunion. There is a great and increasing desire for union. But so far the method by which any real progress may be made has not been found. Is this, after all, to be wondered at ? Is it wonderful that divisions which have lasted for some hundreds of years should require something more than a few years of increased goodwill and amiable aspirations to terminate them ? For we must recognize facts. We must remember that these divisions arose on questions which were looked upon as fundamental, and in the opinion of some, at any rate, are still considered so. Until a solution of them is found no advance can be made. From time to time reunion is discussed as if it were an economic

or business proposition. The waste of division and overlapping is dwelt upon, the loss of efficiency or the weakening of power. All such questions in relation to Christianity are secondary. For the fundamental point to remember about it is that it claims to be a revelation of the truth, and to teach the truth. However much worldly motives or human frailty have prevailed among the causes of Christian disunion, yet ultimately the causes of division have been differences as to what is true. We may on investigation discover that the questions at issue are not really of importance, we may find a solution which may harmonize both sides, we may lead people to a deeper point of view from which the differences appear trifling, but we cannot refuse to investigate. There are intellectual problems we cannot ignore. The evils of disunion are great; but a far greater evil would be to compromise with truth. It would be better that we should remain divided than leave problems unsolved. If we are to come together it must be by wider knowledge and deeper thought, and not by evading the issue.[1]

It is our purpose, then, to discuss that particular article of the Christian creed contained in the words: "I believe one Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church,"[2] for it will bring us in contact with most of the questions which at present divide the Christian Church. The method I propose to adopt is primarily historical. We must begin with

[1] So Dr. Forsyth writes (*Towards Reunion*, p. 56): "In these great and venerable problems solutions are not simple, else they would have been found long ago. Answers to age-long questions are not to be given offhand. . . . We cannot deal with history by wiping the slate and starting afresh. . . . The Church rests on its belief, which it is constantly clarifying at the spring. And that is why the scholars of history and the thinkers of faith are coming to play such a part in the matter. From being polemics, they are turning to be among the chief eirenics of the day. Parties may join for expediency, but Churches can unite only on principle."

[2] Εἰς μιὰν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. In our version of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed the words are, "I believe one Catholick and Apostolick Church." The omission of "holy" appears to be a mere blunder. It is found in the original form of the Creed as contained in the Exposition of Faith of the Council of Chalcedon and in the Revised Creed of Jerusalem as given by Epiphanius. It is not found in the text of the Creed as quoted at the Synod of Toledo in A.D. 589. See A. E. Burn, *An Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 119.

history. Now I notice that it is the plan of many investigators first to state their theory and then in the light of that theory to examine the Biblical and historical evidence. It is not unnatural that, pursuing that method, they should arrive at the conclusions they desire. Even Bishop Lightfoot in his famous essay, which did much to introduce historical methods into this discussion, is not free from this. When he lays down authoritatively in the first paragraph the statement that the kingdom of Christ " has no sacerdotal system," it is obvious that he is assuming at the beginning of his inquiry a principle which might reasonably come as one of his conclusions, for probably more than half the Christian world at the present day would deny the statement.[1] I notice, again, that Bishop Gore, in his work on the Church and the Ministry, always works from the dogmatic presentation of his thesis back to the Biblical and historical evidence. In the first sentence he lays down authoritatively the doctrine of a Christian ministry " which is regarded as having a divine authority for its stewardship of Christian mysteries . . . which in itself is believed to be derived not from below but from above, and to represent and perpetuate by due succession from the Apostles, the institution of Christ." That is, he assumes one of many theories of the ministry. It is not altogether surprising that he is able to find what he desires; but we can well imagine someone else starting by an equally authoritative statement

[1] *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, " The Christian Ministry," p. 181. By J. B. Lightfoot, D.D.: " The kingdom of Christ, not being a kingdom of this world, is not limited by the restrictions which fetter other societies, political or religious. It is in the fullest sense free, comprehensive, universal. It displays this character, not only in the acceptance of all comers who seek admission, irrespective of race or caste or sex, but also in the instruction and treatment of those who are already members. It has no sacred days or seasons, no special sanctuaries, because every time and every place alike are holy. Above all it has no sacerdotal system. It interposes no sacrificial tribe or class between God and man, by whose intervention God is reconciled and man forgiven. Each individual member holds personal communion with the Divine Head. To Him immediately he is responsible and from Him directly he obtains pardon and draws strength."

We may recognize ourselves the truth of this statement, but we have to recognize also that to many it appears neither obvious nor true, and that others who might agree with it partially might consider certain reservations necessary.

of his theory arriving at quite different conclusions, after an equally honest investigation.[1]

There is another way—the only way by which we can hope to get behind our differences. That is the purely historical method, the method which begins by examining the evidence, which seeks to construct a history of things as they were, and then ultimately to draw conclusions from that evidence. That is the method which I shall attempt to carry out in these lectures, and I can at least claim that I have set it before myself in my own studies. I am conscious of the difficulties of the task, of the natural infirmities of the human mind, of the ease with which an unrealized prejudice may make an investigator misrepresent and misinterpret the evidence. Only too often the professed adoption of the historical method appears to be but a device for concealing one's bias.[2] But the method

[1] *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 1. By Charles Gore, D.D., Bishop of Oxford. New Edition, revised by C. H. Turner, M.A. (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1919): "The reader of the history of Christendom cannot fail to be conscious, at each stage of his subject, of the prominent position held in the Church by a Ministry, which is regarded as having a divine authority for its stewardship of Christian mysteries—an authority which is indeed limited in sphere by varying political and ecclesiastical arrangements, but which in itself is believed to be derived not from below but from above, and to represent and perpetuate by due succession from the Apostles, the institution of Christ."

The work is one both of learning and candour, but the reader will notice throughout that the dogmatic presentation always precedes the history, and that the function of the latter is to prove rather than to instruct.

Equally dangerous is the attempt made by Dr. Moberly in *Ministerial Priesthood* to justify the theological method of interpreting the New Testament by later Church history. Because all people have some presuppositions, and some have bad ones, that does not justify us in assuming what we wish as the basis of our inquiry. What probably underlies his contention is a confusion of thought. He sees that there has been much bad exegesis from interpreting the New Testament in accordance with modern liberal or Protestant ideas. The way to correct that, however, is not to interpret it in accordance with modern Anglo-Catholic presuppositions, but to try and discover the presuppositions of the writers and interpret their writings in accordance with their own ideas. That is the historical method.

[2] I cannot help feeling that this is largely the case with Dr. Hatch, whose speculations on the ministry produced at one time so much stir. He was as anxious to attack the current theories of the ministry as others were to defend them. It is remarkable how few of his speculations have been corroborated by further research.

is the right one. It is the only one by which a solution may be obtained. Many men must attempt a task before one succeeds, and each man's failure contributes something to the final success. Our task will be a severe one. It will demand close and careful attention. It will not provide much scope for rhetoric or oratory. It will not provide the satisfaction of large generalizations, or those clear-cut theories which are so attractive to some minds. I must ask your attention during these lectures to an investigation which will often be lengthy and tedious, but will at any rate aim at being serious and honest.

I propose, then, to discuss, so far as I am able, in an historical manner, the growth and development of the Christian Church. That means that we attempt to look at things as contemporaries saw them, that we are not too anxious to ask other times the questions that interest us now, which they would not have understood, and to which they cannot give a direct answer, but that we consider what questions they put to themselves, and how they answered them, what problems they were confronted with, and how they solved them. When we have done that we shall be in a better position to approach the problems and questions of the present day. Our aim is to draw from the Christian experience of the past, not to see the past merely in the light of modern problems.

To-day I propose to consider, first, the preparations, Jewish and Gentile, for the conception of a Church; and, secondly, the teaching of our Lord.

I

Any attempt to investigate the origin and development of Christianity as a society should begin with an examination of the Jewish environment out of which it grew. The very name *ecclesia*, or Church, which Christianity has in an especial manner made its own, was applied to the Jewish community, and, like so much of the early Christian terminology, was ready to hand, only requiring that its content should be enlarged and enriched. The new community grew out of the old. Our Lord Himself, while emphasizing

the need of new bottles for new wine, yet claimed to be fulfilling and completing the purpose of the old Israel. The Apostles, and particularly St. Paul, were indeed conscious of a new life, but they always built upon the past. Their mental environment was Jewish. It was under Jewish influences that the early Christian communities grew up. In time, no doubt, they were influenced by Gentile surroundings, but that was later. It was out of Judaism that the Christian Church grew, and the Jewish community demands our first attention.[1]

The Jewish people might be looked upon as a Race, a Nation, and a Church. Originally a race, they had continuously desired to become a nation, but never with real success; they ended in creating the idea of a Church.

Originally a race, they have never lost the pride and exclusiveness of race. "We have Abraham to our father."[2] They believed themselves to be a privileged people. By virtue of their descent alone they were heirs of the promises. Many held that only to those of Jewish descent was there any entrance to the most fundamental religious privileges. But any claim to purity of descent could only be supported by historical fictions, and many were prepared to extend the privileges of Judaism to those of other races. There were two distinct tendencies. There were some who would confine all religious privileges to those only who were Jews by descent, and were averse to making proselytes—at any rate, outside the limits of Palestine. This tendency probably always existed, and became accentuated, under the influence of the school of Shammai, during the period of bitterness and exasperation which succeeded the fall of Jerusalem. But there had also been a more liberal conception. From an early date residents in Palestine had been admitted by

[1] The main authorities are Schürer, *Geschichte des Judischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*; Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums in Neutestamentliche Zeitalter*. See also Reinach, *Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Judaisme*. The greater part of this section is taken from an article by the present writer in the *Church Quarterly Review* for October, 1904, pp. 29 *f.*, "The Christian Society. I. The Jewish Community."

[2] St. Matt. iii. 9; *cf.* St. Luke i. 55; St. John viii. 33, 39; Acts xiii. 26; Rom. ix. 7, xi. 1. Ps. Sol. ix. 17, *ὅτι σὺ ἠρετίσω τὸ σπέρμα Ἀβραὰμ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*.

circumcision to share the privileges of Judaism,[1] and there can be no doubt that a large proportion of the Jewish race was of Canaanitish origin. The later prophets had had visions of the inclusion of Gentiles within the limits of God's people,[2] and during the times of the Maccabees these aspirations began to be realized. When Idumaea, Galilee, and Ituraea were conquered, the inhabitants were compelled to become Jews. A similar tendency was exhibited among the Jews of the Diaspora, who made many converts by moral influence, by literary propaganda, and by the power of a higher religion. In some districts large bodies of converts had been made, and probably one of the chief causes of the hatred felt for the Jews was that they were successful, not only in business, but also in extending their faith. "To such an extent," said Seneca, "has that accursed race increased, that it has been received into all lands: the conquered have given laws to their conquerors."[3]

Some became full proselytes; others adopted the monotheism and moral teaching of Judaism, without apparently submitting to circumcision, and other equally unattractive customs. It seems to have been particularly among this class of "devout"[4] men and women that Christianity at first spread, while the actual proselytes were among the bitterest opponents of St. Paul. But in any case the existence of these two large classes shews that there were elements in Judaism which might have broken down its spirit of exclusiveness. If in its origin Judaism was the religion of a race, it might have burst its barriers. It had, in fact, begun to do so and to open privileges theoretically confined to the descendants of Abraham for the benefit of all races. This element, like the other free elements in

[1] Exod. xii. 48.

[2] Isa. xiv. 1; *cf.* lx. 3.

[3] Seneca *ap.* Augustine *De Civitate Dei* vi. 11 (Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 262).

[4] οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν, Acts x. 2, 22, xiii. 16, 26; οἱ σεβόμενοι, Acts xiii. 50, xvii. 4, 17; οἱ σεβόμενοι τὸν Θεόν, Acts xvi. 14, xviii. 7; Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2 (110); οἱ σεβόμενοι προσήλυτοι, Acts xiii. 43. See also Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 96-106 (Reinach, p. 292), and the passages collected in illustration of it by Professor J. E. B. Mayor in his Commentary.

Judaism, Christianity appropriated to itself, while those who remained Jews retained the old spirit of exclusiveness, embittered by the sufferings of the great revolt and the destruction of their sacred city.[1]

We have next to consider the Jews as a nation. At first only a loose confederation of tribes, they had been united under David into a powerful kingdom, which had been as transient as are most Oriental monarchies, but had served to create an ideal and to shape their future aspirations. Under the influence of the Prophets there grew up the expectation of the coming of an anointed King of the house of David, who should rule in righteousness and equity, under whom Israel would attain once more the half-mythic glory of the past and hold sovereign sway over the Gentiles. It was characteristic of Israel that its hopes were always placed in the future, and that, however gloomy might be its political fortunes, it believed with unconquerable faith in its divine destiny. These hopes were expressed in the expectation of the Kingdom of Heaven, a term which, at the time of our Lord, summed up the social, political, and religious ideals of the nation.

It took various forms. Some expected in a simple and crude manner the revival of earthly sovereignty. In this form it inspired the many revolts against Roman rule which followed the organization of Judaea as a Roman province, and expressed itself more particularly in the refusal to pay taxes to a foreign ruler. A more ideal representation was that which is put before us in the Psalms of Solomon. God is called on to raise up " their King, the Son of David " to reign over Israel His servant. He is to purge Jerusalem from the heathen, to gather together a holy people. " He shall possess the nations of the heathen, to serve him beneath his yoke; and he shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen of the whole earth. He shall purge Jerusalem and make it holy, even as it was in the days of old, so that the nations may come from the ends of the earth to see his glory, bringing as gifts her sons that have fainted. . . . There shall be no iniquity in those

[1] Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, pp. 64-71.

days, for all shall be holy, and their king is the Lord Messiah."[1]

But as the establishment of temporal sovereignty became less possible, there grew up, especially among the more pious Israelites who repudiated such earthly hopes, a different conception, coloured by a strong and often extravagant eschatology. This is suggested first in the book of Daniel, and was amplified in the book of Enoch and other apocryphal writings. When the kingdoms of the world are warring with the saints, suddenly the Ancient of Days will appear: "And the kingdom and dominion and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him."[2] The coming of this kingdom is associated with the judgement, the punishment of the wicked and the persecutors, and the reward of the righteous; often it is accompanied with crude millennarian hopes. It meant the establishment by supernatural agencies, whether on earth or in heaven or in a new earth, of an ideal kingdom of righteousness and happiness for the elect under the direct rule of the Messiah in the visible presence of the Almighty.

While the aspirations of Israel were in this manner being idealized and were coming to be expressed in a more definitely religious fashion, the political fate of the nation was teaching the same lesson. To any clear-sighted observer it must have been apparent that the establishment of an earthly Jewish kingdom was not possible. But it required many hard blows to drive the lesson home. The period of illusion under the Maccabees was finally brought to an end by the expedition of Pompey. With a true

[1] Psalms of Solomon, xvii. 23-44, ed. James and Ryle, pp. 137-145. On the expression the Lord Messiah (Χριστὸς Κύριος) see the note *ad loc.* This is the reading of all Greek manuscripts and of the Syriac Version. I notice, however, that Professor Buchanan Gray in Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, II. 650, translates "the Anointed of the Lord" without taking the trouble to justify it. Evidence has little weight with a modern critic.

[2] Dan. vii. 27. See also *Regnum Dei*, by Archibald Robertson, D.D. [afterwards Bishop of Exeter], pp. 1-38, 39-46. Bousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 *sq.*

instinct the more pious among the Jews never forgave him, and sang a paean of triumph over his death: "God shewed me that insolent one lying pierced upon the high places of Egypt, made of less account than him that is least in earth and sea; even his dead body lying corrupted upon the waves in great contempt, and there was no man to bury him. He said, I will be Lord of earth and sea; and perceived not that it is God who is great, powerful in the greatness of his strength. He is king over the heavens and judgeth kings and rulers. He it is that lifteth up unto glory, and layeth low the proud in eternal destruction and dishonour, because they knew him not."[1]

Pompey might be punished for his insolence, but the hope of Israel never returned. Herod's kingdom was felt to be an illusion. Direct Roman rule was established. The Holy People must pay taxes to a foreign ruler. The overthrow of national hopes in the great war, the destruction of the city, the final failure under Barcochba, compelled the Jews finally to lay aside all temporal aspirations and to seek their future in religion alone.

Meanwhile Jews all over the world were learning to live as citizens of other nations, protected by their laws, often enjoying special privileges. They clung to their traditional life; they jealously adhered to their religious duties. As the restoration of Israel as a people and a nation became more and more impossible, they became, in fact if not in name, a Church.

The fundamental idea of a Church is that of a religious society organized apart from the State. It involves the separation of the spiritual from the temporal, and the tendency on the part of the religion to overstep ethnical and national bounds and establish itself on an international basis. This was not the original idea of religion. In the beginnings of history, religion seems invariably to belong to a particular tribe or city, and there is no distinction between the religious and the political organization. A man's religion is fixed by the people or city or family to which he belongs. At Rome the colleges of priests and augurs, and the vestal virgins, were as much State officials as the

[1] Psalms of Solomon ii. 30-35.

consuls or praetors. A *rex sacrificulus* was necessary because some religious ceremonies could only be performed by a king. A striking illustration is Julius Caesar as a young man becoming Pontifex Maximus as a step of some importance in a political career. Even if foreign cults are introduced they are brought in as new developments of the State religion.

It was the spread of commerce and the mingling of nations resulting from it that began to break down this conception. It was the great Empires of Alexander and of Rome, the destruction of the old city communities, and the change of outlook created by the substitution of a State coextensive with the world for one limited to a few miles of territory, that created the need for a new ideal. The various Eastern superstitions which became popular in the Imperial period, the worships of Isis and Osiris, of Cybele and Attis, and more particularly that of Mithras, conformed to a newer model and responded to the transformation which was gradually taking place in men's minds; but it was only in Judaism, or, to speak accurately, in its more spiritual offspring, Christianity, that the idea of a Church was actually formulated.

There were, in fact, many elements in Judaism which fitted it for answering these needs. Originally, Israel had been a people without any earthly ruler, and this was never forgotten. " The Lord your God is your king " represented the prophetic opposition to a kingly ideal. The same view was revived in the establishment of the theocracy after the exile, and again when the Chasidim protested against the temporal sovereignty of the Maccabean High Priests. Such an ideal was naturally obscured in times of national success, but became more prominent in times of failure, until circumstances made it, for anyone who could see, the only possible basis for religious organization. They were not to be a nation with their own polity, but a people separate from the world, living under the rule of others, in many different countries. Such a conception gradually grew up. It was expressed in a number of theological terms, first used by Judaism, later taken up and applied to itself by the Christian Church.

The normal name for the people in its spiritual aspect was Israel. " The portion of the Lord, and the inheritance of God, is Israel ";[1] " Israel is the Lord's portion," says the Son of Sirach.[2] " Israel is a holy nation unto the Lord its God, and a nation of inheritance and a priestly and a royal nation and for his own possession."[3] The people were " the Saints," " the Holy Ones."[4] So in Leviticus: " Speak ye unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, and say unto them: Ye shall be holy, for I, the Lord your God, am holy."[5] They were essentially " the people " as opposed to " the nations."[6] " And now thou art God and we are the people whom thou hast loved."[7] More particularly they were " a chosen race,"[8] " a peculiar people," " a royal priesthood," " an holy nation."[9] " Ye shall be named the priests of Jehovah; men shall call you the ministers of our God."[10] This peculiar sanctity and priesthood was not the privilege of any one tribe, but belonged to the whole nation. " And they shall be to me, saith Jehovah Sabaoth in the day which I make, for a special possession."[11]

Now all these thoughts and ideas are obviously quite independent of any special secular conditions, and they might be preserved and perpetuated when the external circumstances amid which they arose had passed away. They were adopted by later Judaism and were taken over by Christianity as claiming to be the true Israel,[12] and were

[1] Ps. Sol. xiv. 3, *ὅτι ἡ μερὶς καὶ ἡ κληρονομία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστιν ὁ Ἰσραήλ.*

[2] Ecclus. xvii. 17, *μερὶς Κυρίου Ἰσραὴλ ἐστιν.*

[3] Jubilees (ed. Charles) xxxiii. 20.

[4] *οἱ ἅγιοι.* See Hort on 1 Pet. i. 15; *cf.* Ps. Sol. xvii. 36, 49; Sanday and Headlam, Rom. i. 7.

[5] Lev. xi. 44, 45, xix. 2, xx. 7.

[6] *ὁ λαός* as opposed to *τὰ ἔθνη.* See Hort on 1 Pet. ii. 9.

[7] Ps. Sol. ix. 16, *καὶ νῦν σὺ ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁ λαὸς ὃν ἠγάπησας.*

[8] Isa. xliii. 20, 21, *τὸ γένος μου τὸ ἐκλεκτόν, λαόν μου ὃν περιεποιησάμην τὰς ἀρετάς μου διηγεῖσθαι.*

[9] Exod. xix. 5, 6, *ἔσεσθέ μοι λαὸς περιούσιος ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν· ἐμὴ γάρ ἐστιν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔσεσθέ μοι βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον.*

[10] Isa. lxi. 6, *ὑμεῖς δὲ ἱερεῖς Κυρίου κληθήσεσθε, λειτουργοὶ Θεοῦ.*

[11] Mal. iii. 17, *καὶ ἔσονταί μοι, λέγει Κύριος Παντοκράτωρ, εἰς ἡμέραν ἣν ἐγὼ ποιῶ εἰς περιποίησιν.* On all these passages see Hort on 1 Pet. ii. 9.

[12] On the manner in which the Christian Church as the New Israel succeeded to the privileges of the old, see Hamilton, *The People of God* (Oxford, 1912), and especially vol. ii., chap. ii., " The New Israel."

summed up in the word *ecclesia*, or church. Thus was created the technical term for a religious society apart from, and opposed to, all other forms of association.

This word *ecclesia*,[1] although it was ready to hand, and had been prepared for use, had not definitely been employed with this meaning before it was taken up by Christianity. Although once in the New Testament it is definitely used of the Jewish Church, when it is said of Moses, " This is he that was in the Church in the wilderness," yet there is no parallel to that usage in purely Jewish writings, and it is clear that Christian conceptions are being read back into pre-Christian times.

The word had been gradually shaped for this purpose. There are two Hebrew words, *'edhah* and *qahal*, which are used in the Old Testament for the " assembly " or " congregation." The former was with some consistency translated by the Septuagint *synagoge*, the latter by *ecclesia*. It is hardly possible in earlier books to find any distinction in meaning between the two, but in later Judaism there is some difference. The word *synagoge* came to be used more especially of an actual body of people gathered together in one place; the word *ecclesia* is used more particularly of a sacred assembly, especially of the sacred assembly of all Israel, and hence of an assembly in its ideal aspect. Two instances may be quoted illustrating this. In the Psalms we read: " And the heavens shall declare thy wonders, O Lord; and thy truth in the *ecclesia* of the Saints "; and in Ecclesiasticus: " Wisdom shall praise herself, and shall glory in the midst of her people. In the *ecclesia* of the most High shall she open her mouth."[2] But the usage is not fixed, and the ultimate distinction of the words *synagoge* and *ecclesia* arose from the fact that the word *synagoge* became the usual Greek designation for the building known under that name, and called in Hebrew *keneseth*. As the one word was used for the building, the other became employed to express the religious assembly of God's chosen people. It thus acquired the more abstract and ideal signification, and for that reason was taken up by the

[1] See Dissertation A, " The History of the word ἐκκλησία."
[2] Ps. lxxxviii. 5 [6]; Ecclus. xxiv. 1, 2.

Christian Church. The two words, which had originally differed little in meaning, ultimately came to express the two antagonistic ideas of Church and Synagogue.

We may now sum up the results of this discussion. During the first century of the Christian era the old conception of a national religion peculiar to a city or people and distinct from that of any other nation had ceased to be really tenable, and with it passed the identity of the religious and secular organization. A universal State needed and created the conception of a universal religion, and a government, which, by the necessities of the case, was mainly secular and normally tolerant, fostered the growth of the idea of a Church as a religious society apart from a State. The elements included in this idea were: first, that a religion was intended for others besides those of a particular race or nation; that it was intended in fact for the whole world, or at any rate for the elect throughout the world, and aimed more or less consciously at being universal; and then, secondly, and as a necessary consequence of this, that it should be organized, at any rate, to a certain extent, independently of the ordinary social, municipal, and political life. The first and second centuries of the Christian era saw the rise of various attempts at meeting this need. The cults of Mithras and of Isis are typical of the efforts which were then made with some temporary success; but Judaism in its later form and Christianity were the only permanent results, and Christianity alone consciously created the conception known to us in modern times by the name of a Church.

The world was seeking a universal religion. It was only a monotheism in some form which could meet such a demand. Although Judaism believed in one God who was Lord of the whole earth, yet it was hampered by a rigid exclusiveness which confined its privileges to those who could claim to belong to the chosen race, and by narrow nationalist ideals, and it was unable to separate its theological ideas from the hard and severe discipline of the ceremonial law. Circumstances indeed were suggesting the abandonment of all such restrictions. Large numbers of proselytes had been made, and Judaism shewed signs of

breaking down its barriers. Sensible people had ceased to arrange their lives in the expectation of a national restoration. But the actual step of creating the idea of a Church was not made. Christianity made this step, and absorbed in itself all those liberal tendencies which had begun to appear, while Judaism became even more stereotyped. Ever since the fall of Jerusalem it has been in fact a Church, but it has never recognized this as its ideal. It has not ceased to look forward to a restored Jewish State. It has remained exclusive, isolated, unchanging.

Christianity grasped the idea and fixed the name. The word was ready to hand. It had acquired a spiritual meaning, but it had never been used in its technical signification. As employed by Christianity the word *ecclesia* embodied a new conception for which the world was ready, which was the spiritual fulfilment of principles innate in Judaism, and awaiting development; which only came into being in the new life and revelation through Jesus Christ.[1]

II

We have now to approach what will be found to be a more difficult problem. In what sense and to what extent did our Lord found a Church? At first sight the inquiry may seem unnecessary. It is recorded of our Lord that on one of the most impressive occasions of His life He said: "On this rock I will build my Church."[2] Such a statement must surely solve the problem. Unfortunately it does not do so in the opinion of certain scholars. It is argued that this and other passages which might seem to point to the same conclusion are not original, but represent a later recension of the Gospel story. They came into the narrative as a justification of more developed ecclesiastical conditions, not, it would be argued, by any

[1] The idea of the Jewish *ecclesia* is brought out by Bousset (*op. cit.*, pp. 54 *sq.*, *Die Entwickelung der Jüdischen Frömmigkeit zur Kirche*), but he fails to realize (1) that although the conception was post-exilic, yet it was possible, owing to tendencies in pre-exilic Judaism; (2) that even after the exile the realization was practical rather than theoretical. As a matter of fact Judaism has become a church, but it has never realized the idea of a church.

[2] St. Matt. xvi. 18.

conscious process of fraud, but by the inevitable tendency of an unwritten tradition gradually to modify itself in accordance with the desires of those who report it. It would be maintained that a study of the narrative would shew that there was not in our Lord's life and teaching any contemplation of such a development. Either it would be held that He expected so near a coming of the end of all things that the creation of a society would be entirely unnecessary, or that He taught a simple ethic with which anything like ecclesiasticism was entirely inconsistent. The Church, it would be maintained, grew up through other influences, partly through the survival of just those elements of Judaism most inconsistent with the Gospel, partly through the corrupting influence of Hellenism. In any case it does not represent our Lord's teaching in any way, and all passages with an ecclesiastical flavour are the product of the Church and not of its Founder.[1]

Another point of view would be that the development was entirely healthy and right, that it was indeed part of the divine purpose, but that no such idea could be found in the genuine words of our Lord, or was part of His conscious purpose. His own aims were entirely limited. He had indeed sown the seed, and the seed had grown into a great tree; but as He died before the seed began to grow, we cannot ascribe any of the characteristics of the tree to His work.[2]

It will be apparent, I think, on examination, that all these theories labour under serious logical defects. How are these conceptions of our Lord's teaching formed? In the only way possible, by a study of the Gospels—that is,

[1] An admirable example of such views will be found in the article "Ministry," by Professor P. W. Schmiedel, of Zurich, in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, iii. 3101-3103. "It would be a great mistake to suppose that Jesus Himself founded a new religious community." It is very doubtful whether our Lord called the disciples "Apostles"; He certainly did not do so as conferring on them a particular rank. The commission of binding and loosing in the sense of non-forgiveness and forgiveness of sins is in the mouth of our Lord impossible, as also is almost all the address to St. Peter (St. Matt. xvi. 18). This is shewn by His use of the word *ecclesia*. "Baptism and the repetition of the Last Supper were no ordinances of Jesus." "The conclusion of the parable of the Tares does not come from Jesus."

[2] This would represent the view of M. Loisy, at any rate when he wrote *L'Évangile et l'Église*.

by a study of those portions of the Gospels that support such a view. Each theory is based upon a portion of the material; and we ask whether there is any external evidence which enables us to distinguish that portion which is regarded as authentic and trustworthy. Are there any reasons of an objective character sufficient to distinguish the two strata of the Gospels? It seems somewhat difficult to find any. Criticism such as this in fact labours under the disadvantage that it constructs its theory from a portion of the evidence, and dismisses the remainder only because it does not harmonize with its theory—a somewhat circular method of argument. This defect of method becomes apparent from a comparison of different modern writers. The liberal rationalistic school would consider that the principal eschatological passages of the Gospel are later interpolations, while the new eschatological school would consider them the most authentic portion of our Lord's sayings. So Harnack based his conception of the kingdom of heaven on a passage which Loisy maintained was certainly not authentic.[1]

The method pursued is in fact hardly scientific. Yet it is not possible to deny the possibility of interpolation, or of our Lord's words as reported having been influenced by later conditions. This would be particularly the case in regard to isolated sayings. A more careful investigation is therefore necessary, one which will enable us to get a deeper insight into our Lord's methods. Such an investigation I propose to make. The critical position adopted is that in the bulk of the subject-matter of the Synoptic Gospels we have our Lord's words as they were reported among the first generations of Christians; that they were reduced to writing certainly before the fall of Jerusalem, and probably considerably earlier; that the Gospels existed in their present form in any case before the end of the first century, and probably twenty or thirty years earlier. We cannot have any certainty that we possess in every case the exact words of our Lord; yet the substantial accuracy of the record of His teaching, and the correct presentation of His religious conceptions, need not be doubted.

[1] Loisy, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-56.

It is from this point of view that I propose to examine the teaching of the Gospels, and to inquire what evidence they give as to the relation of our Lord to the formation of the Christian society.[1] I propose to avoid relying on isolated passages and special texts, and to examine the general tendency of our Lord's teaching. If we find that the more definite sayings are in harmony with the rest of the teaching it will be a reasonable deduction that they are genuine. Having thus obtained some idea of what the Gospels teach, I shall ask whether it takes its place naturally in the development of Christian life and doctrine. If it does so, if the conception thus formed gives a natural cause of the development of the Christian society, then it will be in accordance with good criticism to accept it as genuine.

III

The expression most commonly used by our Lord to express His teaching is that of the " kingdom of God," or, more correctly, " the rule or sovereignty of God."[2] Synonymous with this is the expression used in the First Gospel, the " kingdom of heaven," the word " heaven " being a common paraphrase employed to avoid the sacred name.[3]

[1] The work which I found most helpful in this investigation was Hort's *Christian Ecclesia*. A large part of what follows is taken from an article of my own in the *Church Quarterly Review* for January, 1905, vol. lix., No. 118, pp. 257-285, " The Christian Society. II. The Teaching of our Lord."

[2] On the Kingdom of Heaven see Dissertation B, where the meaning of each separate passage where the word is used is discussed. For a full philosophical presentment of it see Robertson's *Regnum Dei*.

[3] On these terms see particularly Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, pp. 91-147, E.T. There can be no doubt that the meaning of *ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* is the same as that of *ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ*, the former being the Jewish expression, modified in St. Mark and St. Luke to suit Greek readers. " Jesus will have preferred the popular expression because He also readily abstained from the use of the divine name " (pp. 93, 94). On the meaning of the expression Dalman writes: " No doubt can be entertained that both in the Old Testament and in Jewish literature מַלְכוּת when applied to God means always the ' kingly rule,' never the ' kingdom.' . . . It is more correct to regard, with B. Weiss, as fundamental, the meaning ' the full realization of the sovereignty of God,' so as never to lose sight of the starting-point."

This expression first demands our examination, all the more because it has been taken (as, for example, by St. Augustine) as simply identical with "the Church." That this is so cannot be maintained. The kingdom of heaven means much more than the Church, it is a term of wider signification; but there is a close connection between the two. For example, when our Lord, addressing St. Peter, speaks of the founding of His Church, He is represented by the author of the First Gospel as immediately adding the words, "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." What meaning, then, is to be ascribed to this expression "the kingdom of God" as used in the Gospels?[1]

The primary signification was the divine theocracy, the rule of God as opposed to that of the powers of evil or the sovereigns of the world. Although the exact expression does not occur in the Old Testament the idea which it represents is common. Israel was to live under the direct rule of Jehovah; the people of Israel were to obey His law; the establishment of this kingdom would mean the overthrow and subjection of the kingdoms of the world. This had become part of the current thought of the day. The

[1] *Cf.* Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 18, 19: "One large department of our Lord's teaching sometimes spoken of as if it directly belonged to our subject, may, I believe, be safely laid aside. In the verse following that which we have been considering [Matt. xvi. 18] our Lord says to St. Peter, 'I will give thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.' Without going into details of interpretation, we can at once see that the relation between the two verses implies some important relation between the *Ecclesia* and the Kingdom of Heaven: but the question is, what relation? The simplest inference from the language used would be that the office committed to St. Peter and the rest with respect to the *Ecclesia*, would enable him and them to fulfil the office here described as committed to him, with respect to the Kingdom of Heaven. But the question is whether this is a sufficient account of the matter. Since Augustine's time the Kingdom of Heaven or Kingdom of God, of which we read so often in the Gospels, has been simply identified with the Christian *Ecclesia*. This is not an unnatural deduction from some of our Lord's sayings on this subject taken by themselves; but it cannot, I think, hold its ground when the whole range of His teaching about it is comprehensively examined. We may speak of the *Ecclesia* as the visible representative of the Kingdom of God, or as the primary instrument of its sway, or under other analogous forms of language. But we are not justified in identifying the one with the other, so as to be able to apply directly to the *Ecclesia* whatever is said in the Gospels about the Kingdom of Heaven or of God."

exact form which the expectation took might vary, but it was always associated with limited national aims and often with crude eschatological hopes. It will always seem remarkable to anyone acquainted with contemporary thought how completely this nationalism has been eliminated from our Lord's teaching. He undoubtedly uses eschatological language, but it may be doubted whether He employed it in a purely literal signification. What He did was, discarding all limited conceptions, to make use of the expression "the kingdom of heaven" as the vehicle of a profound moral teaching, of inaugurating new conditions under which man was to dwell upon the earth, and of expressing in its most spiritual form the hope of future happiness offered to mankind.

The Jew had looked forward to the establishment at some future time of the visible manifestation of divine power in the world. His conception was definitely eschatological. So the kingdom of God means that final realization of the divine rule for each individual, which was also, and especially in St. John's Gospel, called "eternal life." The kingdom of heaven is something which is to come. The righteous are to inherit the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world;[1] they shall shine forth in the kingdom of God the Father.[2] It is for this coming of the kingdom—that is, for the complete fulfilment of God's will—that men are to pray.[3] But this interpretation does not exhaust the meaning of the word as used by our Lord. The kingdom of heaven is spoken of as present. "The kingdom of God is within you."[4] "From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence."[5] "But if I in the spirit of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you."[6] In many of the parables also by which the idea of the kingdom is illustrated it is represented as something already begun. The divine theocracy, then, can be spoken of as something already present, yet to come, a system as yet imperfectly realized, to be more completely fulfilled in the future. Occasionally it seems as if this imperfect condition were

[1] St. Matt. xxv. 34. [2] St. Matt. xiii. 43. [3] St. Matt. vi. 10.
[4] St. Luke xvii. 20, 21. [5] St. Matt. xi. 12. [6] St. Matt. xii. 28.

represented as the kingdom of the Messiah, in contrast to the complete consummation of the kingdom of God: "The Son of Man shall send forth his angels and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that cause stumbling . . . then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father."[1] So our Lord says to the Twelve: "I will appoint unto you a kingdom, even as my Father appointed unto me."[2] He speaks of, and His disciples expect, His kingdom,[3] and it is this expectation which seems to be interpreted by St. Paul when he says: "Then cometh the end, when he shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father. . . . For he must reign, until he hath put all his enemies under his feet."[4]

Our Lord, then, was inaugurating a system of divine rule or sovereignty as opposed both to the kingdoms of the world and to the kingdom of evil, a rule already beginning and leading to a more perfect consummation in the future. This sovereignty was to consist in the sway of the divine law in men's hearts; "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness."[5] The entrance into this kingdom is dependent upon conforming to its laws: "Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall in no wise enter therein."[6] Now those persons in whose hearts God has power and who have consciously accepted His rule become by so doing the subjects of the kingdom, "the sons of the kingdom."[7] Such a body of men so bound together by accepting a common law suggests at once the idea of a society.

A closer investigation will corroborate this impression. A series of terms are used which have a meaning only in relation to a society. Our Lord speaks of the "greatest" and "least" in the kingdom of heaven.[8] "He that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he."[9] It is something that people attain to and enter into.[10] It

[1] St. Matt. xiii. 41-43. [2] St. Luke xxii. 29; *cf.* xii. 32.
[3] St. Matt. xx. 21; St. Luke xxii. 30, xxiii. 42.
[4] 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25. On this subject see Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, pp. 133, 134; Robertson, *Regnum Dei*, pp. 54 *sq.*, 71 *sq.*
[5] St. Matt. vi. 33. [6] St. Mark x. 15. [7] St. Matt. xiii. 38.
[8] St. Matt. v. 19. [9] St. Matt. xi. 11.
[10] St. Matt. v. 20, vii. 21, xix. 23, xxi. 31; St. Luke xviii. 24, 25.

may be closed against others. Men may be cast out from it. St. Peter is said to have the keys of it.[1] Of the Pharisees it is said: "Ye shut the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye enter not in yourselves, neither suffer ye those that are entering in to enter."[2] Now if in some cases these expressions might refer to the final manifestation of the kingdom, in others they clearly do not. The type of society is not defined. Sometimes the language is metaphorical. The terms do, however, imply a sphere in which men will be associated with others as recognizing the sovereignty of God, and having the privileges thus conferred.

A similar conception is implied in the passages which represent our Lord as a new lawgiver. Moses had given laws for the old theocracy which were accepted as the direct revelation of God's will. It is one of the most startling points in the claim of our Lord that He took upon Himself to give a new system of ethics, a natural development indeed of the old system, but definitely contrasted with it and intended to supersede it. It is conceivable that this system might represent only the moral principles which a man must accept if he acknowledges God's sovereignty in his heart. But on being examined it is found to deal not only with the relation of man to God, not only with the relation of man to the world apart from God, but also with a special relation to others, who are in the same peculiar relation to God and who are described as "brethren." When our Lord gives the series of directions about being angry with a brother, and so on, He is conceiving that those whom He addresses and who are to obey the laws of the theocracy will be members of the kingdom, having definite fraternal relations with other members of the kingdom.[3]

The mysteries of the kingdom were most clearly expounded by our Lord in a long series of parables. Some of these put forth the privileges of the kingdom, others the duties; others, again, seem to represent it as a society in which good and evil are mingled together, a society such as a visible Church might be. In the parable of the Tares, the kingdom of heaven is represented as a community of

[1] St. Matt. xvi. 19. [2] St. Matt. xxiii. 13.
[3] St. Matt. v. 22, vii. 3, 4, 5, xviii. 15, 21, 35.

good and evil men living together in the world at present undistinguishable, or at any rate with difficulty distinguishable, one from another. Out of these, described as the kingdom of the Son, the evil will be plucked at the end of the world, and in the purified kingdom of the Father, the good will shine forth as the sun.[1] A similar conception is suggested by the Draw-net.[2] Two other parables seem even more suggestive. In the Mustard Seed and the Leaven, the external and internal growth of the kingdom is pictured. The most obvious interpretation that can be given them is that while the one represents the silent and secret growth of ideas in men's hearts, the other pictures it as a great and visible society growing in the world capable of giving rest and shelter as do the branches of the tree.[3]

The divine theocracy in the Old Testament was a society. The words used by our Lord to convey His teaching inevitably suggest men united together as subjects of a king. The language used would be evacuated of much of its meaning if no Christian society were contemplated. This society was not identical with the kingdom, but represented the kingdom in process of creation. But our Lord as represented in the Gospels uses language which implies that those who accepted His teaching were to be united together in a community in which they should receive even in this life some of the privileges which He promised, and should exercise the righteousness which He enjoined, and that community is represented by the Christian Church.

It has often been remarked as strange that the "kingdom"—an expression used with such frequency in the Gospels—should be found so little in other books of the New Testament. It may throw some light on our inquiry if we investigate this point shortly. Our Lord used this word to describe His message because it was current among the Jews. They expected the Messiah; they expected that he would inaugurate the kingdom. Jesus came as the Messiah and gave quite a new meaning to the kingdom. So long as the Gospel was addressed only to Jews, the language would be adequate and valuable, but when the

[1] St. Matt. xiii. 24-30, 36-43. [2] St. Matt. xiii. 47-50.
[3] St. Matt. xiii. 31-33.

disciples began to preach to Gentiles it was necessary to interpret it. There was even danger attached to it. It was quite capable of being taken to mean that Christianity implied a political revolution.[1]

Now most of the books of the New Testament were written for Gentile readers, and therefore in most of them the process of interpretation has begun. The Synoptic Gospels, being as they profess to be historical records of our Lord's teaching, generally preserve the original phraseology, and this is strong evidence of their authenticity. The remaining books interpret, and it is interesting to observe the manner in which the idea of the kingdom is dissolved into its different elements. In St. John's Gospel the idea most prominent is that of "eternal life," which expresses in more modern phraseology one of the most fundamental thoughts included under the conception of the kingdom. It is noticeable, also, how exactly St. John preserves the meaning of our Lord's teaching; for "life" with him means not merely something which is to be gained hereafter, but something which is enjoyed now, just as the kingdom is something which is inaugurated now, although its completion will only come hereafter. "He that believeth hath eternal life."[2] "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day."[3] But, again, the kingdom meant the sway of God's laws in men's hearts, and as such it was represented and interpreted by the great Pauline idea of "righteousness."[4] "Seek ye first," said our Lord, "God's kingdom and his righteousness."[5] "The kingdom of God," said St. Paul, "is righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."[6] But then again the kingdom of God carried on and reasserted the idea involved in the old theocracy of the "people of God," those who were bound together as the subjects of His laws and for that reason attached to Him and separated from the rest of the world. As such

[1] *Cf.* Acts xvii. 7 with 1 Thess. ii. 12.
[2] St. John vi. 47. [3] St. John vi. 54.
[4] See "St. Paul's Equivalent for the 'Kingdom of Heaven,'" by W. Sanday, D.D., in *Journal of Theological Studies*, i., 481 (July, 1900).
[5] St. Matt. vi. 33. [6] Rom. xiv. 17.

it found its interpretation in the spiritual Israel, the Christian Church. And just as eternal life was something which was partly realized here, although the fulness was only to come hereafter, just as the righteousness of earth is only a faint shadow of the righteousness in heaven, so the Christian Church, imperfect upon earth, will only attain its completion hereafter. All these ideas alike reflect the characteristics of the kingdom or sovereignty of God, that it was to be only partially realized on earth, but was to wait for its complete consummation in the heavens.[1]

Such I would put before you as the explanation of that complex thought, the kingdom of heaven. Those of you who are acquainted with certain forms of modern criticism will be aware that one school would interpret it only in an eschatological sense. They would hold that the only meaning it could have to our Lord was that at some period not very remote would come the final end of this world-age, that the Messiah would come in majesty and destroy all earthly kingdoms and establish on earth a kingdom of heaven. Some would modify this so far as to believe that what our Lord was really teaching in a symbolical manner was a doctrine of "eternal life." But any other meaning would, they hold, be in the mouth of our Lord an anachronism.

Now the difficulties of such a narrow interpretation are two. The one is that it compels us to do such violence to the records that we possess. It obliges us either to give a forced and unnatural meaning to many of the passages in the Gospels where the phrase occurs, or, as the more common expedient, to deny that they were spoken by our Lord. Even if such violent methods might be justified, the difficulty would still be great because, according to these same critics, the early Christian community also believed in the

[1] See Robertson, *Regnum Dei*, p. 98: "The Church stands in a more direct relation to the Mediatorial Kingdom of Christ; but here, too, the two things are not convertible; the Church is an instrument, the chief instrument, of the Reign of Christ, it is its principal sphere, and aims at worthily embodying it in the sight of men. The Kingdom of God is not simply an idea, nor simply an institution, but a Life, and of that Life—the Christian Life—the Church is the nurse and home."

near approach of the Parousia, and therefore the more profound conceptions of the kingdom would be as impossible for them as for our Lord.

A second difficulty is that if you evacuate the teaching of our Lord of all its most original and impressive characteristics, if you imagine that it did not exceed in intelligence the work of a third-rate apocalyptist, it becomes exceedingly difficult to explain the message of the Gospel, the rise of Christianity and of the Christian Church.

I would therefore put before you that such critical methods are unscientific and that such a narrow interpretation of our Lord's words entirely fails to represent His Gospel. It may be doubted indeed whether even among the Jews the Kingdom and the Parousia were normally interpreted with such a crude literalism. In all ages the language describing religious hopes of the hereafter has been symbolical and imaginative. Our Lord starts from the popular conception. He uses it to teach His message. He would teach us the universal claims of God's rule. Every man must let God rule in his heart. That was the fundamental law of life. He foresaw the contest between the rule of God and the rule of the world, His own death, the labours and sufferings of His disciples. Again and again in His parables He taught that the coming of the kingdom in its completeness was a long process. He conceived His followers bound together in a common society as a preparation for the kingdom. The final coming of the kingdom for each one would be in eternal life. Righteousness, the Church, Eternal Life. Thus the kingdom would come.

IV

If the foundation of a religious society was part of our Lord's plan and purpose, in what sense and to what extent did He carry it out? He did not directly found the Church. History shews, as theology has always taught, that this was the work of the Apostles. But He prepared for it. He collected round Himself a body of disciples,[1] who had

[1] *Cf.* Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 19, 20: "Wherever we find disciples and discipleship in the Gospels, there we are dealing with what was a direct preparation for the founding of the *Ecclesia*.

obeyed His command to follow Him. In attachment to His person He gave them a principle of union. More than this, He selected twelve to be His particular companions. To His disciples and His apostles He gave a commission which implied an extension of work after He was taken from them. He gave to the community spiritual authority.

Our Lord formed a body of disciples. They were attached to Him in a special sense, and were contrasted with the crowd of mere hearers who followed Him only for a time.[1] We have no definite information about their number, but they were probably never very numerous.[2] He raised waves of popular enthusiasm, but they were transient. Much of His teaching was difficult, unattractive, even deterrent. He seemed to prevent men from coming to Him too easily; He sifted and tried them. No man who was not prepared to bear his cross could be His disciple.[3]

If we ask what were the conditions of discipleship, we shall find that while there is, as always in our Lord's teaching, a complete absence of rules or regulations, the fundamental qualification is clear. It is attachment to Himself. "But Jesus looked at him and loved him, and said to him: One thing thou lackest: go thy way, sell all thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven,

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We all know how much more this word 'disciples' sometimes means in the Gospels than admiring and affectionate hearers, though that forms a part of it; how a closer personal relation is further involved in it, for discipleship takes various forms and passes through various stages. Throughout there is devotion to the Lord, found at last to be no mere superior Rabbi, but a true Lord of the spirit; and along with and arising out of this devotion there is a growing sense of brotherhood between disciples."

[1] *Cf.* St. Matt. xiii. 36, xiv. 19.

[2] There seem to be few data for arriving at the number of our Lord's disciples. We are told in the Fourth Gospel, in a passage which suggests that baptism was the external sign of discipleship (St. John iv. 1), that Jesus at the beginning of His ministry made and baptized more disciples than John; but later we are told in the same Gospel that many of His disciples left Him (St. John vi. 66). The highest definite number in the Gospels is that of the seventy mentioned in St. Luke (St. Luke x. 1), an incident which there are no sufficient grounds for doubting, as it would be difficult to conceive any reason for its invention. The number of names mentioned in the Acts after the Ascension is one hundred and twenty (Acts i. 15) assembled in Jerusalem, and St. Paul records an appearance of our Lord to over five hundred brethren at once (1 Cor. xv. 6).

[3] St. Luke xiv. 27.

and come, follow me."[1] "Then Jesus said to his disciples: If any one wishes to come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."[2] "Follow me"[3] is the constant note. Those who confess Him, He will confess before His Father in heaven.[4] Those who are not offended in Him are blessed.[5] Men are bidden leave all their possessions for His name's sake.

To those thus attached to His person, He teaches a new life, and He makes His name a bond of union among them. He addressed them as His flock. "Fear not, little flock, for your Father is pleased to give you the kingdom."[6] After His death His followers will continue as a society bound together in His name, hated and persecuted of others. Although at present there are none but Jews among them, He contemplates the inclusion of Gentiles as well and the exclusion of many Jews. "Many shall arise from the east and from the west and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, but the sons of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness."[7] "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof."[8] "The Gospel of the kingdom has to be preached to the whole world."[9] In fact our Lord is represented as attaching to Himself followers whom He expects to continue together and to add to their number after He is taken away from them.

But, besides the general body of disciples, and selected from among them, He appointed twelve chosen followers. The name by which they were generally known was "the Twelve"; they appear to have been called Apostles in connection with the special mission on which they were sent out during our Lord's life on earth. If they were originally chosen for this special work, St. Mark also tells us that they were designed to be in a special sense the companions of their Master,[10] and the narrative makes it clear that this was the primary purpose of their selection. After the Ascen-

[1] St. Mark x. 21.
[2] St. Mark viii. 34; St. Matt. xvi. 24; St. Luke ix. 23.
[3] St. Matt. viii. 22, ix. 9, x. 38, xvi. 24, xix. 21, etc.
[4] St. Matt. x. 32. [5] St. Matt. xi. 6. [6] St. Luke xii. 32.
[7] St. Matt. viii. 11, 12; St. Luke xiii. 28, 29.
[8] St. Matt. xxi. 43. [9] St. Matt. xxiv. 14. [10] St. Mark iii. 14.

sion of our Lord, when, under the inspiration of the Spirit, they undertook the further missionary labours which they gradually realized, in accordance with their commission, to be their duty, the name Apostles became more common; but the only distinctive name was " the Twelve." During our Lord's earthly life they were not in any real sense Apostles, and after His Ascension they shared the name with others. Most commonly they were called simply disciples, and it is often difficult to say whether by this word is intended the Twelve or the whole body of our Lord's followers.[1]

To estimate the meaning and importance of this act, let us look at the result. Jesus chose a small number of followers to be attached to His person. They were His constant companions, and were with Him when no one else was present. They, or some of them, were thus the witnesses, and therefore able to be the narrators, of His life. They had listened to His discourses and had been the recipients of special instructions and explanations. In this way they were as a matter of fact trained by Him to carry on the message which He had come to deliver, and it is somewhat difficult to believe that this was the accidental result of action undertaken without any such purpose. After His Ascension they take their natural place at the head of the young community; they become the first preachers of the Gospel, and in a sense the rulers of the early Church. This naturally arises from the position they occupied with our Lord.[2]

[1] On the significance of the names used see Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 22-29. *οἱ ἀπόστολοι* occurs as follows: in St. Matthew once only (x. 2), in St. Mark once, or perhaps twice (vi. 30, iii. 14, W. H.)—these in relation to the special mission; in St. Luke six times (vi. 13, ix. 10, xi. 49, xvii. 5, xxii. 14, xxiv. 10); *οἱ δώδεκα* (*οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι, μαθηταί*) in St. Matthew eight times, in St. Mark ten times, in St. Luke eleven times, in St. John four times; *οἱ ἕνδεκα* occurs four times. *οἱ μαθηταί* is of constant occurrence, but very often there is no criterion as to whether it refers to the Twelve, or to a larger body of the disciples. We know only that in certain cases where in one Gospel we have the " disciples," it is limited in a parallel passage to the Twelve. *Cf.* St. Matt. xiv. 15 with St. Luke ix. 12.

[2] See on this *Pastor Pastorum*, by the Rev. Henry Latham, who brings out with great force the significance of the training of the Apostles.

Let us sum up our position so far. Our Lord came to found the kingdom of God which was expected by the Jews. While their expectations were mainly of temporal rule and material abundance, He continually impresses on them that the duties and privileges of the kingdom are purely spiritual, and that the theocracy which He founds is one independent of earthly sovereignty. Yet He uses language which describes it as a society, lays down for it a new law, and speaks of its future extension in the world. The preparations for such a society He Himself made by collecting around Him a body of disciples bound to Him by direct ties of personal adherence, out of whom He selected twelve as His special companions, who became afterwards preachers, teachers, and rulers. In other words, He looked forward to and prepared for the founding of the Church.

V

We now pass to the study of certain special passages, which, if they are genuine utterances of our Lord, clinch our argument. There are two passages in St. Matthew's Gospel in which the word *ecclesia*[1] occurs. Let us take first that of less importance.

" And if thy brother sin against thee, go, shew him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he hear thee not, take with thee one or two more, that at the mouth of two witnesses or three every word may be established. And if he refuse to hear them, tell it unto the *ecclesia :* and if he refuse to hear the *ecclesia* also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican. Verily I say unto you, What things soever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and what things ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything, that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered

[1] On the *ecclesia* see Dissertation A, " The History of the Word *ἐκκλησία*."

together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."[1]

It has been supposed that the word *ecclesia* is used in this passage in reference to the Jewish assembly; it has also been supposed that it represents later ecclesiastical conditions and is not part of our Lord's words. Neither hypothesis is needful. Our Lord is describing the duties of an individual disciple, and as a consequence the rights of an assembly of the brethren. A disciple of His must make up his differences with an erring brother. He is to use the influence of friends; if that fail he is to bring the matter before the assembly or meeting of the brethren, even if it be a small one. The decision of that meeting must be accepted, for it has the power of judgement, of legislation, and of excommunication. More than that, it is a spiritual and divine reality. If even two or three brethren meet together in Christ's name, He is with them. The word representing *ecclesia* used by our Lord would have been employed in a general and not a technical sense. He simply meant an assembly or meeting of the brethren. It

[1] St. Matt. xviii. 15-20. The tendency of modern commentators is to consider that this passage cannot be genuine. For instance, McNeile *ad loc.*: "It is probable that behind this section lie some genuine sayings: but in its present form it belongs to a date when the Church was already an organized body. It is the most distinctly ecclesiastical passage in Matthew's Gospel." The reasons given for this (so far as it is thought necessary to give reasons at all) are:

(i.) That it implies a doctrine of the Church inconsistent with our Lord's teaching. This contention is only true if all the passages which imply the conception of a society are ruled out in the same way, and if a rigid ecclesiastical interpretation is given to the words. As a matter of fact they just give that principle of authority which was necessary to the Church without any law.

(ii.) Special exception is taken to the reference to the heathen man and the publican. But the criticism is beside the point; our Lord does not mean that the publican or Gentile should be treated harshly, but that in the new Israel it is the man who will not forgive his brother and confess his sin who is to be in the position that the Gentile occupied in the Jewish community. The passage would have been meaningless if due to the compiler of the Gospel, for at that time there were no "publicans," and the "Gentile" was admitted to the Church. The words come most naturally from our Lord.

On the other hand, the phraseology is early, simple, unecclesiastical. The word *ecclesia* had already been used by Jesus, and the authority of the Church lies in the spiritual principle of brotherhood and discipleship.

was naturally translated *ecclesia*, the term which was used early with special reference to the Christian assembly.

The second passage is more important: " And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my *ecclesia*; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."[1]

The meaning of this passage seems clear. The Jewish people had been often spoken of as the " Israel of God," " the congregation of the children of Israel." Our Lord is clearly announcing His intention of building in its place, or as a continuation of it, " the congregation of the Messiah." He might have spoken of it as " His Israel," " His people," but neither term was quite suitable, and so He uses another expression, which had the authority of the Scriptures and of devout phraseology, and might adequately describe the ideal assembly of Israel. This expression was translated

[1] St. Matt. xvi. 18, 19. It is hardly necessary to remind our readers that this passage is very commonly rejected as unauthentic. Schmiedel finds, amongst other reasons, one argument against it in the use of the word *ecclesia*. Loisy says, however, that it is not the employment of a word unused elsewhere which constitutes the strongest objection to this passage, " mais l'idée même d'une société terrestre qui n'est ni la communauté israélite ni le royaume des cieux, et qui se substitue pour ainsi dire à l'une et à l'autre. Jésus n'a jamais prêché que le royaume et l'avènement prochain du royaume." But this statement can only be justified by omitting all the passages in which our Lord's teaching implies a Church.

The following reasons may be given for thinking the passage as a whole genuine:

(i.) The phraseology is not Greek but Aramaic in origin; it must, therefore, go back to the early period of the Gospel writing. Proofs of this may be seen at length in Dalman's discussion of the meaning of the various expressions (Dalman, *op. cit.*, pp. 121, 213).

(ii.) It could not have been interpolated at any late date (say in the second century, as has been suggested), for " the manner in which St. Peter's name enters into the language about the building of Messiah's *ecclesia* could not be produced by any view respecting his office which was current in the second century " (Hort, p. 9).

(iii.) If it is conceivable that it was written to justify the authority of St. Peter in the first days of the Church, it is much more conceivable that words such as these spoken to him by our Lord led to his occupying that position (see below, p. 36, *n.* 1).

(iv.) The application of the term ἐκκλησία by the Apostles is much easier to understand if it was founded on an impressive saying of our Lord.

by a Greek word which had come more and more to be used in this ideal sense, and was rapidly appropriated to itself by the Christian Church, more particularly because it represented a striking saying of our Lord.[1]

If our interpretation of these two passages is correct, our Lord had spoken of an assembly of His disciples as a spiritual body, with authority of legislation and discipline, and had referred to the whole body of those who hereafter were to be called in His name in language which had been used to describe the ideal assembly of Israel, the people of God. He had thus suggested the employment of a word which many tendencies of the time made peculiarly appropriate for Christian purposes.

But we have not exhausted the importance of these two passages. In both alike we have the authority of binding and loosing given, in one case to Peter, in the second case to others besides. What did this signify? It meant, it seems clear, the authority of legislation such as was claimed by the Rabbis, the power of saying what was right and what was wrong. This would necessarily imply both the power of exercising discipline in the community, and also the power dependent upon this, of regulating admission into the community and rejection from it.[2] The passage

[1] Hort, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 11: "The congregation of God, which held so conspicuous a place in the ancient Scriptures, is assuredly what the disciples could not fail to understand as the foundation of the meaning of a sentence which was indeed for the present mysterious. If we may venture for a moment to substitute the name Israel, and read the words as 'on this rock I will build my Israel,' we gain an impression which supplies at least an approximation to the probable sense. The *Ecclesia* of the ancient Israel was the *Ecclesia* of God; and now, having been confessed to be God's Messiah, nay, His Son, He could to such hearers without risk of grave misunderstanding claim that *Ecclesia* as His own."

[2] St. Matt. xvi. 19, xviii. 18; St. John xx. 23. The best discussion of these words is that in Dalman, pp. 214, 216: "The terms δέειν and λύειν used in Matthew can be referred only to אֲסַר and שְׁרָא in Aramaic. . . . These are the technical forms for the verdict of a doctor of the law who pronounces something as 'bound' (*i.e.*, 'forbidden') or else as 'loosed' (*i.e.*, 'permitted'), not, of course, in virtue of his own absolute authority, but in conformity with his knowledge of the oral law. Consequently the statement of Jesus would mean that His disciples—in virtue of their knowledge of His oral teaching—will be able to give an authoritative decision in regard to what the adherents of the theocracy may do and may not

is therefore interpreted correctly by the author of the Fourth Gospel, who, as so often in other cases, translates the evangelical tradition into more modern language. "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted to them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained."[1]

This commission is in the first place given to St. Peter. What position did it imply for him? Great difficulties have surrounded this passage, but the simplest interpretation is to suppose that the words mean exactly what they say, nor is it legitimate to evade difficulties by a theory of interpolation. It means that Peter, who best understood his Master, who had realized most fully the meaning of discipleship, was to be the one through whom in a particular way the new community was to be built up; and also that he, in the first place, as others with him, was to possess authority, discipline, and the right of teaching. It means, in fact, that he was to fill exactly the position which, according to the history of the Acts, he did fill. It was not a position different in character from that of the other Apostles, but he was first among them, and at any rate for a time their leader and the chief of the new community. It seems doubtful whether the position continued throughout his life; at any rate, it is not implied, and therefore it was not intended that he should have any successor to his personal position. The words mean exactly what

do. . . . The application which is given in John xx. 23 to this saying is not unwarranted. For exclusion from the community on account of some offence includes the 'retaining' of the sins; the readmission of the sinner includes the 'remission' of his sins."

[1] Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 216: "In the same sense, Peter (St. Matt. xvi. 19) has the keys of the theocracy, and as keeper of the keys is the fully authorized steward of the house of God upon earth. Since, moreover, it is the community of Jesus that is here concerned, in which Peter is to exercise this office, and as no sort of limitation to a defined sphere is indicated, it follows necessarily that the control of teaching and of discipline are regarded as entrusted to him. Peter had just shown that he understood his Master better than the others. He therefore shall it be who will one day assume in the fellowship that position which Jesus then occupied in relation to His disciples." Hort, pp. 20, 21: "It was the strength, so to speak, of St. Peter's discipleship which enabled him, leading the other eleven disciples and in conjunction with them, to be a foundation on which fresh growths of the *Ecclesia* could be built."

they say. It is as illegitimate to deny or evade that meaning as to read into them what they do not contain.[1]

On the second occasion on which the words occur they are addressed to the disciples. The question has been raised (and it is one which may be of great importance) whether that means the Twelve or the disciples generally, and the significance that lies in that question is whether the authority of binding and loosing is on this occasion given to the Church or to an order within the Church. An examination of the passage shows clearly that the words are to be taken as addressed to the disciples as such. They are introduced to explain why it is that an appeal should be made to the *ecclesia* ; in fact they explain the authority that that body has, and they are followed by words emphasizing the spiritual authority of even two or three when gathered together in the name of Jesus. There can, I think, be no doubt that the reference is here to the disciples as a body, representative of the Christian Church, and that it is to the Christian Church that is given the authority of binding and loosing.[2]

[1] There are two different methods of interpretation of the promise to St. Peter: there are those, on the one hand, who refuse to recognize it as genuine; there are those, on the other, who think that it implies the whole Roman position. Then there are also those, like Loisy, who combine the two. As regards the first, it may be noted: (1) That this promise is not isolated. The lists of the Apostles clearly represent Peter as " first "; he is given the most prominent position of all the Apostles in the Gospel narrative, and the Fourth Gospel preserves another tradition of authority given to him. All this helps to shew that it was the tradition of the Christian Church that whatever authority St. Peter had came from the direct appointment of our Lord. (2) It is much more natural to suppose that St. Peter owes the position which he takes at the beginning without opposition to the direct appointment by his Master than that the appointment was invented to justify his position.

As regards the second point we have to realize (1) that whatever is given to Peter is given also to the Church as a whole; (2) that the position of St. Peter is that of a leader among those who are equal with him; (3) that the promise to St. Peter was to be the foundation, not the ruler, of the Church; (4) that after the earliest days he ceases to occupy any position of authority in the Church. " Et n'est-il pas vrai que celui qui a cru le premier à la résurrection du Christ a posé la pierre fondamentale du Christianisme ?" These words of Loisy (*Les Évangiles Synoptiques* ii. 14) exactly express both the position of St. Peter and its limitations.

[2] On the other hand, Loisy, for example, writes: " Protestant exegesis makes great efforts to attribute this power to the community, and not to the Apostles as such. But, apart from the

And this conclusion seems to be corroborated by a point which Dr. Hort has emphasized. There are other passages where our Lord is represented as giving directions or authority to His disciples, and there has been discussion whether on these occasions there were others present with the Twelve, whether the commission was given in virtue of their Apostolic office or in virtue of their membership of the *ecclesia*. In relation to these passages Dr. Hort points out that the significant fact is the language employed. During the earthly life of our Lord the Twelve were disciples, not Apostles, and that was why this name is used of them. They, sometimes with others, sometimes without, are the Church in embryo, the nucleus from which it grew, the seed which was to develop, and as the Church they receive directions which are intended for the Church of the future. Authority is given to the Church.[1]

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fact that the parallelism of this sentence with the words that Jesus addressed to Peter contradicts this hypothesis, the nature of the case does not countenance it, as a group of persons without a head cannot be supposed to be invested with judicial power; and the evangelist, who had no thought of formulating a theory on the seat of authority in the Church, had in view the organization of communities as it existed in his time, in which the paternal authority of bishops and presbyters had been substituted for that of the Apostles" (*Les Évangiles Synoptiques* ii. 91, quoted in Montefiore, *Synoptic Gospels*, ii. 681).

The arguments given above seem to me sufficient to show that this is not correct, but the comment is an admirable example of the modern critical method. First, the passage is, without any argument, ascribed to the Evangelist and not to his sources; secondly, there are read into it later ecclesiastical conditions of which there is no hint, and then a forced meaning is given to it to apply to those conditions. If the Evangelist had meant the authority to apply to bishops and presbyters he would not have introduced the remarks about our Lord's presence where two or three disciples meet together, which represent the absolute contradiction of any such interpretation.

[1] Hort, *op. cit.*, p. 29: "And this use of names points to corresponding facts. Discipleship, not apostleship, was the primary active function, so to speak, of the Twelve till the Ascension, and, as we shall see, it remained always their fundamental function. The purpose of their being with Him (with the Lord) stands first in that memorable section of St. Mark, and is sharply distinguished from the Lord's second purpose in forming them into a body—viz., the sending them forth to preach and to work acts of deliverance. But the distinction does not rest on these words alone. A far larger proportion of the Gospel is taken up with records of facts belonging to the discipleship than with records of facts belonging to the apostleship, so far as it is possible to distinguish them." See also p. 39.

This is made all the more striking by the contrast with certain passages which are definitely and explicitly addressed to the Twelve. The first is the Apostolic commission. It is significant that here, while much is said of the duties and dangers of their life, there is nothing of their privileges. It is a commission to work not confined to our Lord's lifetime. They are sent forth as lambs in the midst of wolves. A time will come when they will be hated by all men for His name's sake, when they shall be brought before synagogues and sanhedrins and rulers and kings for a testimony to them and to the Gentiles, but the Spirit of the Father shall speak in them. They have learnt the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, and what they have learnt in secret they shall proclaim upon the housetops. They will be called upon to confess their Master before men, and will often be in danger of their life. They must love their Master more than father or mother or son or daughter, more than their own life.[1]

There is another significant passage which, again, we are told, was addressed to the Twelve. They were disputing as to who should be greatest. Our Lord says to them: "If any one wishes to be first, he will be last of all, and servant of all."[2] A similar lesson in fuller words is given on a well-known occasion to the sons of Zebedee. Rule and authority are what the Gentiles strive after. Their aim is different. The greatest among them will be as their minister, and the first among them as a servant. Humility and service are to be their lot, just as Jesus Himself came not to be ministered to, but to minister.[3]

[1] St. Matt. x. 5—xi. 1. No doubt St. Matthew has collected together (as his manner is) sayings of our Lord from various sources and different occasions, but that is no reason for ascribing most of them to a later date. There is full evidence that our Lord not only expected death for Himself but sufferings for His followers. At any rate, the argument of the text is not dependent on the authenticity of every verse.

[2] St. Luke ix. 46-48; St. Mark ix. 33-41; St. Matt. xviii. 1-5; St. Luke xxii. 24-27.

[3] St. Mark x. 35-45; St. Matt. xx. 20-28. It might be thought that there were few incidents which in every characteristic bore more clearly the mark of genuineness. However, the critics find all sorts of reasons for rejecting them. We cannot waste more space on such trifling.

Now there is nothing in these rebukes incompatible with the office which the Apostles were to hold in the future community. They are not directed against office, but against office held in the wrong spirit; but it is not, I think, without significance that just in these passages, and in these almost alone, we should be specially told that the words are addressed to the Twelve, while in the passages in which He dwells on the authority of the new community our record should speak of the disciples. The inference which we may legitimately deduce from this is that while to the Apostles our Lord gave a commission of ministry, to the community He gave authority.

VI

There are two great institutions, both claiming to have arisen from the direct command of our Lord, which have an intimate bearing on our investigation—Baptism and the Lord's Supper. They are obviously social rites. They are connected, the one with the entrance into a society, the other with the life of a society. It is natural, therefore, that certain critics (consistently with their conception of our Lord's teaching) should have doubted the commonly received opinion concerning their origin.

It is, of course, true that there is little said about baptism in the Gospel narrative, but what is said is of great significance. Our Lord Himself taught little, because it was a rite which He adopted and did not institute. Baptism for the remission of sins was instituted and preached by the Baptist. By being baptized Himself Jesus expressed His adhesion to it, and it is unnatural to suppose that after He had accepted it in His person He should not have considered it necessary for His followers. Many of those who came to Him had already been the disciples of the Baptist and would have been baptized by him. Nor do the Gospels as a rule trouble to repeat what has already been described. They had given an account of the institution of baptism and that was sufficient. Their first readers, looking on baptism as they would, as one of the normal conditions of Christian life, would have assumed the con-

tinuity of the custom, and would not have felt the need of any further description. Moreover, the fact that the disciples at the beginning of their preaching appear spontaneously and naturally to have made it part of the system of the new community is hardly explicable unless it had been adopted as an institution by our Lord. There is no Christian institution of which the universality and acceptance are clearer; and it is difficult to believe that this would have been at once the case if it had not already been part of the usual practice of the Apostles.

In harmony with this the author of the Fourth Gospel gives just sufficient evidence of the attitude of our Lord, when he describes how the disciples of Jesus (although not Jesus Himself) had baptized.[1] The incident may possibly have been recorded for reasons connected with later disputes concerning the relations of our Lord to John the Baptist. The baptism of Jesus was not a new institution, but the old institution of John the Baptist with a new and deeper meaning given to it, and as we know from the Acts the older form of the rite continued. But there are no sufficient reasons for doubting the truth of the incident. It proves that there were the two apparently rival institutions, the origin of which had to be explained. Moreover, the statement that our Lord Himself did not baptize seems to add probability to the writer's testimony.

We have in the same Gospel another passage which appears to refer to baptism:

" Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God. . . . Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."[2]

It is significant that in this passage the expression " kingdom of God," which would be that which our Lord must have used, has been retained and has not, as is more usual in this Gospel, been interpreted. The words give the theological basis which is necessary to explain the customs of the primitive Church. Our Lord had adopted baptism as the rite of admission to discipleship, and as such it was practised by His disciples after His Ascension.

[1] St. John iii. 22-26, iv. 1, 2. [2] St. John iii. 3, 5.

Christian practice combines with historical tradition to explain the position and purpose of the Lord's Supper, or, as it soon came to be called, the Eucharist. If our Lord did not give a command for its repetition, why was it that the Christian Church began at once to repeat it? Even if the words, "This do in remembrance of me," were an interpretative addition, it is the ideas implied in our Lord's action that they interpret. The Passover was in a unique sense the rite of the Old Covenant. It was bound up with the memories and traditions of Israel. It reminded those who partook of it of the privileges of the elect people. To share in it was, with circumcision, the peculiar sign of being an Israelite. It was at the time when people's minds were full of the ideas of the paschal festival that Jesus celebrated the Last Supper. He described it as a covenant rite. He spoke of His blood which was shed as in a covenant sacrifice, and His body which was to be eaten as the sacrificial meal was eaten. His hearers would draw no other deduction than that He was instituting the rite of a new covenant which they were to repeat as the Passover was repeated. No lamb had been eaten, for it was not the Passover; but a body given in sacrifice, and wine for the blood poured out as the symbol of a covenant, were appointed instead to be the sacrificial meal. The idea of a new rite for a new society became permanent.[1]

VII

We may now sum up this discussion. The times were ripe for that form of religious society which we call a Church. The Jewish nation had in it certain spiritual germs out of which such a conception might grow, but its expansion was continuously checked by narrowing restraints which prevented its development. Out of this Jewish society there

[1] It would be travelling too far from our task to examine and criticize all that has been written about the origin of the Eucharist. It will be sufficient to say that in the opinion of the present writer the attempt to find a Hellenic origin for it is quite unsuccessful. The language and ideas contained in the record of its foundation are Jewish, not Greek. It springs directly and naturally out of the circumstances and the environment of its institution.

springs the Christian *ecclesia*, with a strong bond of spiritual union, with a rapidly developing organization, with a complete indifference to the ideals or forms of an ordinary political society. It quickly emancipates itself from all the narrow ideas of Jewish Nationalism. It refuses to confine itself to a single nation or people. It discards the restraints of the old ordinances, and develops certain simple corporate bonds which are capable of universal acceptance. Whence did this society arise ?

Criticism such as that to which we have been obliged to refer from time to time seems to cut away from it everything out of which it could spring. These critics are so anxious to prove that the later Church created the Gospel that they forget that something must have created the Church. The Gospel narratives, however, as we have them, give a clear and adequate cause. They represent our Lord as having enunciated the great spiritual principles which are implied in a Church. They represent Him as teaching and acting with the conception before Him of a society, a new Israel to spring out of the old. They represent His methods in this as similar to those that always characterized His ministry. He did not give moral rules, but moral principles. He did not give ecclesiastical rules, but He taught the principles which underlie Church life. He is represented as at least in one striking utterance using the name which was afterwards adopted.

The Christian society has grown from the development of certain great principles—discipleship, brotherhood, ministry, sacraments. If our Lord called disciples and bade them live in brotherly love one to another, if He founded the Apostolate, if He sanctioned Baptism and inaugurated the Eucharist, the historical Church as we know it would come into being by a natural process of development. If He did none of these things the growth of the Christian *ecclesia* is inexplicable. It is always difficult to prove the reality of historical events against a criticism which is arbitrary and negative; but if we take the record of our Lord's teaching in the Gospels as authentic, not necessarily in minute detail, but in all essential features, it becomes an adequate and true cause of all that follows, the natural

and effective link between the unrealized if spiritual traditions of Judaism and the incipient Christian Church.

The new idea had to be created; Christianity alone created it, and Christianity did so because it had learnt it from its Founder.[1]

VIII

We have finished our argument. A somewhat tedious one it may seem to some. I would ask you now to consider what practical deductions we may draw from it.

1. First of all, the fact that our Lord's purpose and plan was to found a society, and that this was an integral portion of His message to the world. This has never, I think, been expressed more forcibly or more eloquently than by the author of *Ecce Homo*, that fresh and stimulating presentment of the life of Christ:

> "It was not from accident or convenience," he writes, "that Christ formed a Society. . . . To organize a Society and to bind the members of it together by the closest ties were the business of His life. For this reason it was that He called men away from their homes, imposed upon some a wandering life, upon others the sacrifice of their property, and endeavoured by all means to divorce them from their former connections in order that they might find a new home in the Church. For this reason He instituted a solemn initiation, and for this reason refused absolutely to give to anyone a dispensation from it. For this reason too He established a common feast, which was through all ages to remind Christians of their indissoluble union."[2]

This is, I think, a fact of fundamental importance. Humanly speaking, if Christianity had not been organized as a Church it would not have had the power of either survival or expansion. It was because the followers of Christ were bound together as an organized body with the

[1] On the relation of the teaching of the Fourth Gospel to the foundation of the Church, see Dissertation C.

[2] *Ecce Homo*, p. 92 (second edition).

strength and solidarity that the sense of discipleship and brotherhood gave that the Gospel of Christ became a power in the world and did not remain an unregulated enthusiasm. Loyalty to their Master, enthusiasm for the society, love of the brotherhood, were all concentrated in the great fact of the Christian Church, and it is this fact, whether exhibited in the world-embracing conception of Catholicity or Universality in its various forms, or in the less obtrusive but often more intensive devotion to the local church or sect or cause, that has been amongst the most powerful motive forces of its advance. Philosophic ideas may for a time permeate society, but their influence is dependent on the intellectual adhesion of the few. A religion, so long as it remains ethnic or national, can only influence a limited circle. It is when a creed sufficiently elevated and universal to appeal to wide circles of humanity has the strength behind it of a Church, that it is able to transcend the bounds of nations, to travel to distant parts of the world, and to penetrate deeply the life of the people.

2. But, secondly, it is equally important to emphasize what our Lord did not do. He might have acted like the founder of an Oxford College, have drawn up a body of statutes, appointed certain officials, and thus stereotyped the character of the society. This we recognize to be just what He did not do. He laid down many principles but drafted no rules. He laid the basis of morality on the highest principle, that of love, but gave no other new commandment; the rule of faith was devotion to His person, He formulated no creed; He instituted rites of initiation and communion, with no organized ceremonial or fixed doctrine; He established ministry, but gave no order for the appointment of ministers. It is significant that the one order that He might have been held to establish—that of His Apostles—did not survive its first holders. We talk of an Apostolic ministry, and of successors to the Apostles; but we are giving that designation to officials for whose origin and appointment no direct divine sanction can be found, and whose characteristic features have varied from time to time.

Now anyone who studies the history of the Church will recognize how sound such a method was. Anything defi-

nitely ordered by our Lord would have become an integral part of Christian teaching. The Church would have been stereotyped and, as society became different, the world would have been under the rule of a dead hand. But there is no dead hand in the Christian Church, there is only a living Christ. We cannot find any support for any particular theory of Church polity in our Lord's teaching, and I think that Bishop Gore goes far beyond the evidence when he seeks to find a definite divine sanction for a particular theory of the ministry.

"A 'once for all delivered' faith," he says, "and a once for all covenanted grace associate themselves naturally with a once for all instituted society and a once for all established ministry."[1] Bishop Gore argues, as I believe quite rightly, that the foundation of a Church was part of our Lord's plan. He deduces from that the proposition that He intended to found a particular form of Church, and thus claims the divine sanction for that theory of the Church which he had deduced from his study of Church History, a theory which, as he expounds it, has never completely been realized in practice, but represents an ideal. That ideal we shall have to examine—it is certainly in many ways admirable, and I am not in the least concerned to condemn it. It is sufficient to establish at present that so far as I can see no particular theory of the Church and no form of Church government can find any support, direct or indirect, in the teaching of our Lord.

3. Then, thirdly, I would draw your attention to the methods of our Lord, and to the proportion observed in His teaching. It is only by comparatively slight indications, and to a large extent indirectly, that we learn that He intended to found a Church, or that a Church would be the natural outcome of His teaching. He only spoke of a Church twice. Clearly, if it is an essential part of His work it is a subordinate one. He preaches the Kingdom, not the Church. I believe that here also we may find a guide to ourselves. So far as my observation goes Christianity has always failed when it has put teaching about

[1] Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 7.

the Church too prominently forward. We are told by those who addressed our soldiers in France, at a time when men were faced by the ultimate realities of life and death, that if a preacher began to talk about the Church, their interest at once flagged. There was no message there for those about to die. I cannot but think that this represents a profound truth. When people's thoughts are directed to the Ecclesiastical rather than the Spiritual—whatever form Ecclesiasticism may take, whether Romanism, or Catholicism, or Anglicanism, or Protestantism, devotion to Bishops or devotion to Presbyters, the Free Church movement or the Establishment—it is interesting to notice how little success there is, how little permanent result comes from the most unremitting efforts. I cannot but think that the continuous and pathetic failure of the Jesuit, who has for three centuries given up his life to an ideal which, in spite of his discipline, his sacrifice, and his intellectual ability, he never attains, has arisen from the fact that he has always put the Church first and the Gospel second. Our Lord founded the Church by preaching the Kingdom. We can only build up the Church by preaching the Gospel.

4. And then, fourthly, a Church will fail just so far as it fails to realize the completeness of the Christian ideal. The Church, we say, means ministry. Yes, certainly a ministry is necessary for the Church. But does not experience tell us how barren, except perhaps to the academic theologian, have been the interminable discussions about ministry. The Church means sacraments. Certainly. But how unwholesome sacramental teaching may be if divorced from the living realities on which it is dependent! For in its essence the Church means discipleship and brotherhood, and unless these are the most prominent elements in its presentation, how futile it may become! The ministry is intended to bring people together; it means a failure if it separates them. The sacraments are intended to be sacraments of union; they fail if they become, as they sometimes tend to do, sacraments of disunion. The Church should bind all classes in a country together in the bonds of brotherly love. Its proud boast of catholicity means that it should bring together the nations of the world in the fold of Jesus

Christ. If it tends to divide nation from nation, people from people, class from class, so far it has failed, for its high purpose is to unite all mankind in Christ. " There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."[1]

[1] Gal. iii. 28.

LECTURE II

THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH

"*The Church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.*"—EPH. i. 22, 23.

The Apostolic Church. Authorities. The Acts of the Apostles. The Pastoral Epistles.

The earliest Christian community. Baptism. The teaching of the Apostles. The position of St. Peter. The Communion. The Breaking of Bread. The prayers. Authenticity and importance of the description.

The appointment of the Seven. The nature of the office. The method of appointment. The importance of the crisis and its influence on the Church.

The missionary ministers. The Apostles, prophets, evangelists, and teachers. Their importance for the life of the Church.

The growth and organization of the local communities. The presbyters in Judaea and Jerusalem. Appointed by St. Paul. In the Pastoral Epistles. Called also *Episcopi* and *Pastors*. The origin of the office. Their duties.

The authority of the Twelve. The Church at Jerusalem. The position of James. A Christian Sanhedrin.

The conception of the Church in Apostolic times. The new Israel. The one Church. The unity of the Church. The body of Christ. The Church and the churches.

The institutions of the Church. Baptism. The Breaking of Bread. Laying on of hands. Confirmation. Reconciliation of penitents. Ordination.

The Church and the Ministry contrasted. The two theories of authority. Both one-sided.

Conclusions. The temporary nature of Apostolic conditions. The absence of Apostolic injunctions. The permanent principles of Apostolic times. The living power of the Church.

OUR task to-day is the study of the Apostolic Church. It is a wide, a complicated, and a difficult subject, and we had better begin our work without further preface.

One word I must say about our authorities. They are the Acts of the Apostles and the Apostolic Epistles. On the Acts, as you are aware, much has been written during

the last twenty years, and the trend of criticism has been to corroborate the favourable opinion many of us had formed of its character. Few hesitate to ascribe it to St. Luke. None, I think, now would put it later than the first century. Not many would put it much later than the year A.D. 80. An increasing number would think that it was written even before the fall of Jerusalem. It gives us, in any case, the history of the Church as it appeared to a writer of the second generation of Christians who had good sources of information, and exhibits the observation and insight necessary for an historian.[1] Moreover, the earlier chapters, which contain the account of the primitive Christian community at Jerusalem, are, I believe, based upon a written source, and the picture that they present is true.[2]

Of the other writings the only ones that need trouble us are the Pastoral Epistles. The critical question here is more difficult. The majority of those who call themselves critics deny their genuineness. Personally, I believe that they are wrong, that these Epistles come from St. Paul, although, more than his other writings, they exhibit the work of an amanuensis. But the question of authorship need not trouble us much. They can hardly in any case have been written after the close of the first century, and

[1] The present writer has discussed the Acts of the Apostles in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Acts of the Apostles," and in the *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. liii., No. 105, October, 1901, and vol. lv., No. 110, January, 1903, p. 388. Since Professor Harnack adopted and made his own the admirable investigations of Sir John Hawkins, those Englishmen who consider themselves critics have begun to say that Professor Harnack has proved that St. Luke wrote the Acts. So long as the arguments were used by Englishmen, they remained blind and deaf, for they have no eyes but for German scholarship.

[2] On the historical character of the early chapters of St. Luke see my article in Hastings' *Dictionary* mentioned in the previous note. The undeveloped phraseology of St. Peter's speeches implies that of them, as of our Lord's own words, some early record had been preserved, and there are sufficient stylistic differences to imply the use of a source in the early chapters, but of its limits and contents only the most unsubstantial conjectures are possible. It is only necessary to consider how impossible it would be to reconstruct St. Mark's Gospel if we only had St. Luke before us, in order to realize how futile are the efforts that have been made to distinguish sources.

they depict the organization of the Church as it appeared at the close of the Apostolic period.[1]

I propose, first of all, to describe the earliest Christian community, and then to narrate the manner in which the organization of the Church developed, and I shall conclude with a sketch, so far as that is possible, of the life and institutions of the Apostolic Church, and an analysis of the ecclesiastical principles that they seem to imply.

I

The earliest period in the history of the Christian Church is described in the first five chapters of the Acts of the Apostles.[2] It was mainly, although not entirely, confined to Jerusalem.[3] It is represented to us as a period of spiritual enthusiasm, of brotherly unity, of miraculous power and popular favour. The Church was as yet confined entirely to Jews. It was a new sect. Its members were distinguished from other Jews by their greater earnestness, their stricter life, their zeal and devotion, and by the belief that the Master who had been crucified and had risen again was the Messiah whom the Jews expected, and that He would shortly come again to establish His kingdom. They had already received that gift of the Spirit which was promised in the Messianic times. Whether they at once began to speak of themselves as the Church we cannot say. They were called " the believers,"[4] " those who are

[1] It is interesting to notice how carefully the position with which Timothy is faced is distinguished from that before Titus. No directions are given to Timothy to appoint presbyters; it would be unnecessary, for the Church at Ephesus was fully organized. On the other hand, Titus was organizing new churches and therefore the orders to him are natural. Was this the work of a skilful forger, who realized for himself the historical situation, or the natural action of St. Paul ? I doubt the former.

[2] This section is based on an article that I wrote in the *Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1905, vol. lx., No. 120, p. 317, " The Christian Society. III. The Earliest Christian Community."

[3] Acts v. 16. The presence of large numbers of Christians at Damascus, sufficient to make a persecution there seem necessary, may very probably have been mainly due to the persecution at the death of Stephen.

[4] *οἱ πιστεύσαντες*, Acts ii. 44, iv. 32; *cf.* iv. 4, v. 14.

being saved,"[1] "the brethren."[2] They were probably known to outsiders as the sect of the Nazarenes.[3]

We can construct a fairly full picture of the life of this community. It is summed up for us as follows: "They then that received his word were baptized; and there were added to them in that day about three thousand souls. And they continued stedfastly in the teaching of the apostles, and in the fellowship, in the breaking of bread, and the prayers."[4] They were received into the number of the believers by Baptism. The Apostles were their teachers and leaders. They were bound together in unity of life and fellowship, in the sacramental rite of the breaking of bread and in common worship.

1. Each of these points demands some notice. The condition of receiving the promise of salvation was repentance and faith in Jesus Christ as the Messiah. The external sign of the reception of that promise and of incorporation into the community was Baptism. "Repent," says St. Peter, "and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Messiah unto the remission of your sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost."[5] From the beginning Baptism is clearly a normal and necessary Christian institution, and the author of the Acts having once clearly indicated this does not refer to it again except for special reasons.

2. The community is represented as under the rule and guidance of the Apostles. The believers "continued in the Apostles' teaching." It is the Apostles who take the lead on all occasions. Those who sell land lay the proceeds at the feet of the Apostles, who distribute it. It is against the Apostles that the anger of the high priests and Sadducees is directed. It is they who take the lead in the first new departure which indicates the progress of the Christian Church.[6] The writer of the Acts had a very clear idea of the qualifications which fitted the Apostles for the position which he represents them as

[1] οἱ σωζόμενοι, Acts ii. 47. [2] οἱ ἀδελφοί, Acts i. 15.
[3] Acts xxiv. 5, ἡ τῶν Ναζωραίων αἵρεσις.
[4] Acts ii. 41, 42. [5] Acts ii. 38.
[6] Acts ii. 42, iv. 35, 37, v. 2, 18, vi. 2.

holding.[1] They had been the companions of our Lord during His life, they had received His last commands. They were the witnesses of the Resurrection. They with the other disciples had received power by the coming of the Holy Spirit. Hence they are specially fitted to be the teachers of the new community. The standard of teaching was the witness and tradition of the Apostles. In the absence of authoritative records the testimony of the Apostles to the words and deeds of Jesus naturally formed the basis of the common faith.

But although the rule of the community is in the hands of the Apostles, a position of special prominence is held by St. Peter. He is both spokesman and leader. On all occasions he takes the initiative. All the addresses recorded were delivered by him. It is he particularly who works miracles. He, with St. John, is especially exposed to the attention of the authorities. He takes the lead in discipline and apology; and the awe and wonder which surround an Apostle are in an especial way centred on him. But although he is represented as always taking the lead, it is not as one apart from, but as one joined with, the Apostolic body, as chief among them, not as a ruler over them. He is, indeed, subject to the authority of the whole body.[2]

3. The next characteristic mentioned of the believers is the fellowship or communion. This it is stated was in an especial sense exhibited by the fact that they had all things in common.[3] We need not now examine in detail the vexed question what exactly this primitive communism implied economically. On the religious side it meant that the unity and fellowship of the life of the primitive community was shewn by a singular generosity which

[1] See the account of the appointment of Matthias, Acts i. 15-26, and *cf.* 1 Cor. ix. 1. The office is called a *diakonia* or ministry, and in a quotation from the Psalms it is described as an *episcope*, the word afterwards used of the office of bishop, Acts i. 20 (Ps. cviii. 8, LXX) *τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λαβέτω ἕτερος*.

[2] Acts ii. 1, 44, iv. 32, vi. 1-4.

[3] This is treated with marked sanity by Dr. Armitage Robinson in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i., pp. 460, 461, Art. "Communion," and with more than usual want of sanity by Dr. Schmiedel in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. i., pp. 877-880, "Community of Goods."

almost amounted to a practical communism. The believers were as one family. All who were wealthy gave lavishly of their goods and lands for the benefit of the poor. There was a daily distribution of goods for the widows and those who were in need. The self-sacrifice, unity, and generosity, which should be always characteristic of the Christian, were realized for a short time in a manner that, as the community grew, became impossible in practice, although always possible in spirit. Fellowship in life to the fullest extent must always be a characteristic of true Christianity.

4. Next, we are told, they continued steadfast in the "breaking of bread."[1] Immediately afterwards they are spoken of as "breaking bread from house to house."[2] Although the latter passage shews that a meal was intended, for it is added, "they did take their food with gladness and singleness of heart," yet the context in each case implies that the meal was also a religious act: in the first passage it is coupled with "the prayers"; in the second with the daily visit to the Temple. The phrase "breaking bread" is used in all the accounts of the Last Supper.[3] St. Paul elsewhere has the very significant phrase, "the bread which we break,"[4] where the context clearly implies the Christian Sacrament. Elsewhere in the Acts the phrase is used of the meal at Troas: "On the first day of the week when we were gathered together to break bread."[5] All these instances, together with the evidence of the context, are sufficient to prove that here we have a religious rite, identical with what was afterwards called the Eucharist. It is possible also that in other places where the phrase recurs some connection with this institution is implied. The solemn breaking of bread in the ship at the moment of extreme peril was obviously something more than an ordinary meal.[6] The risen Lord was made known to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus by the blessing and breaking of bread.[7] The early Church recognized a deep

[1] *τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου*, Acts ii. 42.
[2] Acts ii. 46, *κλῶντές τε κατ' οἶκον ἄρτον*.
[3] St. Matt. xxvi. 26, Mark xiv. 22, *εὐλογήσας ἔκλασε*. St. Luke xxii. 19, *εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασε*.
[4] 1 Cor. x. 16, *τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν*.
[5] Acts xx. 7, 11. [6] Acts xxvii. 35. [7] St. Luke xxiv. 30, 35.

spiritual significance in the same solemn formula which is employed in all the accounts of the miraculous feeding.[1]

The evidence clearly shews the religious character of the rite. It was celebrated privately in the home of believers and was thus distinguished from the assemblies in the Temple courts. There was the ordinary evening meal, but there was more. The special accompaniment was the praise of God; it was a glad and happy festival, in fact a Eucharist, a feast of thanksgiving, and it was one of the visible signs of the unity of early Christianity.

5. Lastly, the early Christians were united in "the prayers."[2] The meetings for prayer seem to have been of two kinds, in the Temple and in private houses.[3] The body of believers were constant in their attendance in the Temple, not only as individual Israelites, but in a corporate capacity. "They continued stedfastly with one accord in the temple." To the Western, and especially to an English, reader, accustomed to the orderliness and dignity of our public services, this would imply taking part in an organized system of public worship. Yet this is probably the very last thing that is meant. The wide and spacious porticos of the Temple would, as in the case of the modern mosque, form admirable places for religious meetings, for schools, for sermons, for catechetical instruction, and for united prayer. In these porticos, and especially in that called Solomon's, they met at the stated hours of prayer, for common worship and to receive the instruction of the Apostles.[4]

In the narrative in the Acts the author presents to us a picture of the Church in its most primitive form. It is characterized by unity in spirit and in life, by miraculous powers, and a success only broken by slight opposition on the part of the authorities. It is a period of hopefulness for the future, one to which an after generation might look back with regret after the fanaticism of the Jews, the persecution of the Gentiles, and controversy among Christians had broken out. We may admit perhaps a touch of idealization, but, allowing for that, how far is it

[1] St. Matt. xiv. 19, xv. 36; St. Mark vi. 41, viii. 6, 7; St. Luke ix. 16.
[2] Acts ii. 42, *καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς*. [3] *Cf.* Acts v. 42.
[4] Acts ii. 46; *στοὰ Σολομῶντος*, Acts iii. 11, v. 12.

possible to maintain that it is in its general outline real history? A certain school of critics look upon it as pure fiction. To test it we have a few hints in St. Paul's Epistles, but our chief method must be to examine its relation to what comes after and before, for our ultimate corroboration of any historical reconstruction depends upon whether it takes its proper place in the historical sequence of events.

Now, as regards what comes before, if, as all our evidence implies, a definite commission and ministry were given to the Apostles, it was inevitable that they should take the place they are here represented as occupying; if our Lord had given His sanction to Baptism, both by being baptized Himself and by express command, if He had celebrated the Last Supper and given command for its repetition, it was natural that Baptism and the Breaking of Bread should become at once institutions of the early Church. The office of Messiah which He had claimed and the fact of the Resurrection are implied in all early Christian teaching. The gifts of the Holy Spirit are shewn by the Pauline Epistles to have been part of the life of the early Church.

With regard to what comes after, the evidence is both negative and positive. Negative because there is a complete absence of any attempt to find in the early period any of the ideas or institutions of a later period. This is the more remarkable if we remember the absence of historical sense in most ecclesiastical writers. The author of the Acts of the Apostles lived at a time when there were certainly presbyters and perhaps bishops, and when the diaconate was a regular institution. He was strongly influenced by the thought and ideas of St. Paul. But he does not read any of these things back into the account of this oldest Christian community. The life is early and unformed. The doctrine is simple and undeveloped. The organization is embryonic.

But, although this is true, it is also true that the principles that are required to account for the later ecclesiastical development are already present. There is unity in life and organization, unity in teaching, unity in Baptism and the Breaking of Bread, unity in worship. All that was required for the growth of the Church was there.

Our argument, then, is this. If the authenticity of the Gospel narrative and of these early chapters of the Acts be assumed, we obtain a quite consistent picture adequate to account for what was to come afterwards. The Catholic Church life must have had a beginning, and here are all the elements out of which it might arise. The Church grew up with a ministry, sacraments, a common creed, and a common worship. Here we have all these, but in an undeveloped form, and these again grow naturally out of elements in the Gospels.

If, on the other hand, we assume, as some do, that the ecclesiastical elements in this early period are the inventions of later thought, we are left with no explanation of the origin or growth of the Church. It becomes inexplicable. We cannot, indeed, be certain of the accuracy of every detail; there may be some of the heightened colour which is the result of a distant view. What is maintained is that the historical sequence of events and the development of Christian institutions is naturally and correctly portrayed, and that it is not legitimate to substitute for an account written in the first century a fancy picture constructed by the imagination of the nineteenth or twentieth century.

II

How long the earliest period in the history of the Church lasted it is difficult to say.[1] It may have been only one year or even a few months; it may have been as much as seven years. At any rate, the picture which is presented to us shews that there were in it all the potentialities of expansion and growth which became full of energy and life so soon as occasion demanded. As so often happens, what seemed at the time a small change initiated a series

[1] The narrative in the Acts of the Apostles gives no indication of any value, and modern opinion has varied between those who place the conversion of St. Paul as early as the year A.D. 30, and those who place it seven years later. It is difficult, however, to reconcile the earlier date with the fact that already there was in Damascus a body of Christians sufficiently numerous to make a persecution seem necessary, and the narrative of the Acts appears to suggest a series of events extending over some years. The death of Stephen was probably not earlier than A.D. 33 or 34, and perhaps as late as A.D. 37.

of events of far-reaching importance, which transformed the small community at Jerusalem into the Universal Church.

The occasion was a dispute among the members of the community on the distribution of alms.[1] The Greek-speaking widows thought that they were neglected. To meet the crisis and to relieve the Apostles of secular work seven new officials were appointed, whose business it was to " serve tables," that is, to assist in financial matters and charitable distribution.

The first question of interest which arises is this: Was this the institution of the order of deacons ? Now that is the sort of question which we are always rather too anxious to ask, and to which we shall not receive a very satisfactory answer, for it means reading into an early period later ideas. We must not try to find more than the narrative contains. Nothing suggests that the Church and the Apostles at that time had any idea in their minds that they were doing more than dealing with an emergency. For the first time they were solemnly appointing members of the community to hold office. Their action had quite unexpected consequences, and it was therefore looked back to as marking an epoch. It created a precedent which was afterwards followed. The name *diakonos*, or minister, too, would quickly and naturally be specialized, just as we shall find later that the name " bishop," originally used in quite a general sense of the ministry, became specialized to one particular office. The idea of an order of deacons would grow up because other communities, following the example of Jerusalem, appointed officers to deal with charitable funds, and so they became a regular element in the Church.[2]

[1] Acts vi. 1-6.

[2] The word διάκονος does not occur in the narrative and the word διακονία is used in quite a general way—ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ τῇ καθημερινῇ . . . διακονεῖν τραπέζαις . . . τῇ διακονίᾳ τοῦ λογοῦ. The word διάκονος occurs Phil. i. 1, σύν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις, and 1 Tim. iii. 8-12, where it implies a well-known and established office. On the Deacons see Lightfoot, *Christian Ministry*, pp. 10-17, who discusses and dismisses the idea that there was any connection with the Chazan of the synagogue; Gwatkin in Hastings' *Dictionary*, vol. i., pp. 574, 575; Armitage Robinson in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. i., pp. 1038-1040; Schmiedel, *ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 3132, 3133, who gets rid of all references in New Testament times. See also Dissertation D, " Presbyters and Deacons."

The second point of interest is the method of appointment. While the initiative is undertaken by the Apostles, the action is that of the whole Church: " and the saying pleased the whole multitude." The " seven " are chosen by the community. They are men who have a good repute, and are " full of the Spirit and of wisdom." They are presented by the community to the Apostles, and are appointed to their office by prayer and the laying on of hands. Now here we have fully developed all the elements which constitute a proper ecclesiastical ordination—vocation, or the call of the Holy Spirit, the selection by the community, the public testimony, the presentation on the one side, the laying on of hands with prayer on the other.[1] These elements are present in the developed form of ordination which we know in the third and following centuries, and it is remarkable to find anything so complete at the beginning. It may be suggested that the first definite appointment would naturally form a model, on which later rules would be based. It is a characteristic of the author of the Acts that he does not generally repeat what he has once narrated. He lays stress upon Baptism at the beginning of his narrative, but not afterwards. He dwells on the great epochs in the expansion of Christianity. He gives typical examples of St. Paul's speeches. We may reasonably conclude therefore that the author gives here a typical example of the method which prevailed in the Apostolic Church of appointment to office or, as we should call it, ordination, and that the method here described became the regular custom of the Church.

The whole incident exhibits in a marked way the power of the Church to meet a new situation. It is the first great change, the parent of many others. There was no far outlook into the future, but an exhibition of that wise statesmanship, that adaptation to circumstances which does

[1] The following are the different stages:

i. *ἐπισκέψασθε ἄνδρας ἐξ ὑμῶν . . . καὶ ἐξελέξαντο.*

ii. *ἄνδρας μαρτυρουμένους . . . πλήρεις πνεύματος καὶ σοφίας . . . ἄνδρα πλήρη πίστεως καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου.*

iii. *οὓς ἔστησαν ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀποστόλων.*

iv. *οὓς καταστήσομεν ἐπὶ τῆς χρείας ταύτης . . . καὶ προσευξάμενοι ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας.*

the right thing to meet an emergency. For the first time the Church appoints a new body of officials. Their function is not what we might hold to be very lofty. It was intentionally inferior to that of the Apostles. Yet it is recognized that the occasion is one of importance. A solemn procedure is inaugurated. The whole community works together. They elect, we do not know how, those who had shewn themselves most suitable. The community acts, as always, through its proper ministers, and they make the appointment according to the form which had prevailed in the ancient Church and the Jewish schools.[1]

III

But this trouble about the widows and the appointment of " the seven " had far more wide-reaching effects. We need not now dwell on the history: how the appointment of Hellenistic officials led to the growth of the more universal elements in Christianity; how the liberal theology of Stephen produced persecution, and persecution made the Church realize its missionary character; how, incidentally, the martyrdom of St. Stephen caused the conversion of St. Paul with all its infinite consequences; how, inevitably, a religion which was universal in its essence broke the bonds of Judaism, passed on first to Samaritan and then to Gentile, and a great movement began which spread Christianity through the Roman Empire and even beyond, and taught the Church that it was Catholic.

We are concerned now with changes which were the inevitable result of this expansion. These were the growth

[1] *Cf.* Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, p. 52: " But the appointment was not only a notable recognition of the Hellenistic element in the *Ecclesia* at Jerusalem, a prelude of greater events to come, but also a sign that the *Ecclesia* was to be an *Ecclesia* indeed, not a mere horde of men ruled absolutely by the Apostles, but a true body politic, in which different functions were assigned to different members, and a share of responsibility rested upon the members at large, each and all; while every work for the *Ecclesia*, high and low, was of the nature of a ' ministration,' a true rendering of a servant's service."

of a missionary ministry, the organization of the loca churches, and the development of a central authority at Jerusalem.

The Church becomes now (what it was always to be) a missionary society, and very rapidly developed a complete ministry adapted for missionary work. No doubt at first, as always, preaching and teaching in new places and the making of new converts might be the work of believers who held no definite office, but very quickly those who had special gifts would be differentiated from the general body of disciples and recognized by the Church. A definite ministerial order thus grew up.

It is curious to notice how little stress was laid on the missionary officers of the Church until the eyes of historians were opened by the discovery of the *Didache.* Theological controversy had concentrated attention upon the origin of those orders in the ministry which had survived. But the importance of the *Didache* lies not so much in new facts as in opening our eyes to see what was in documents which we already possessed.[1] For the first time it put before us clearly the existence of two classes of Christian ministers, those whose principal functions were preaching and teaching, whose work was not confined to any one locality, and those, on the other hand, who were ministers of a local community, whose first duties were those of administration and government, although they were never confined to these. The latter, by the force of circumstances, ultimately acquired the sole right of exercising spiritual functions which in the beginning they had possessed only to a limited extent,

[1] It is interesting to notice that Bishop Lightfoot, before the discovery of the *Didache,* realized quite clearly the importance of the preaching ministry. Referring to the two lists of the ministry he says: "Neither list can have been intended to be exhaustive. In both alike the work of converting unbelievers and founding congregations holds the foremost place, while the permanent government and instruction of the several churches is kept in the background. This prominence was necessary in the earliest age of the Gospel. The Apostles, prophets, evangelists, all range under the former head. . . . From the subordinate place, which it thus occupies in the notices of St. Paul, the permanent ministry gradually emerged, as the Church assumed a more settled form, and the higher but temporary offices, such as the apostolate, fall away" (Lightfoot, *The Christian Ministry,* pp. 7, 8).

and became inheritors of the position originally occupied by the missionary ministry.[1]

With the key that has now been provided we turn to the New Testament and find the interpretation of it immensely facilitated. We find (now that we can see it) the distinction between missionary and local ministers clearly existing. We notice that, as was most natural, the former were more important at this stage of development. We understand why so little is often said about presbyters and deacons, for their office was not as yet conspicuous. We see above all what the force was which gave homogeneity and continuity to the Christian Church. Not only the Apostles (in the narrower sense of the word), but a vast number of other accredited preachers and teachers must have been continually passing backwards and forwards among the churches and have prevented the isolation and stagnation of the local communities.

The missionaries of the Christian Church were described as apostles, prophets, evangelists, and teachers.[2] The word "apostle" was used in a double sense. It was most commonly used of the Twelve, but it was not confined to them. In its wider sense it probably meant a Christian missionary solemnly sent forth by the Church, as Barnabas and Saul had been, to preach the Gospel and found churches.

[1] The term "missionary," which I suggested first in 1906, seems to be the best to describe the difference between the two classes of ministers; the term "charismatic" which is so popular is based upon a complete misunderstanding of the Apostolic age. It suggests that "prophets" had a *charisma* and "presbyters" had not. This would have seemed absurd to St. Paul. His argument in 1 Cor. xii. is that everyone in the Church has his gift from the Spirit, and that he must use that gift and not be jealous of or at strife with those who have other gifts, and that the gifts are given for the benefit of the whole body. It further suggests that those who had a *charisma* were not ordained, while deacons, for example, who had no *charisma*, were ordained. That, again, is a position which cannot be proved (see below, p. 84). The Seven were ordained because they had a *charisma*, and Timothy received the gift of the Spirit for his special work by the laying on of hands of the presbyters. See Armitage Robinson, in *Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry*, edited by H. B. Swete, D.D. (Macmillan and Co., 1918), "The Christian Ministry in the Apostolic and Sub-Apostolic Periods," pp. 60-79. His argument is conclusive as regards the charismatic idea.

[2] For details as to the work of these and reference to authorities see Dissertation E, "The Missionary Ministry."

They were probably what were known as the apostles of the churches.[1]

The prophet resembled the apostle as being an officer of the whole Church, and not confined in his duties to one locality. He differed in that his work was primarily that of edifying the faithful rather than of converting the unbeliever. His gifts were those of inspired oratory, of insight into God's dealings with mankind, a strong grasp of spiritual truth, earnestness, a power of arousing religious enthusiasm, consolation, exhortation, revelation.

The evangelist is less often mentioned. The word was probably used of those engaged in missionary work who had not the same authority as the Apostles, and it was generally perhaps a synonym for those who were often called apostles in the wider sense of the term. Philip, one of the Seven, called " the evangelist " in the Acts, was spoken of in later tradition as " the apostle." Timothy is included in the general use of the term apostle in one place, and seems to be called an evangelist in another. This was natural. There was always a tendency to limit the term apostle to the Twelve, or to the Twelve with St. Paul, and this would naturally suggest the employment of another name for the ordinary missionary. But the specialized use of the word evangelist did not live.

The " teacher " held a definite office in the early Church, but the term is not common. Probably there were few teachers who did not hold other office, and teaching would tend to become the business of the local ministry. There would be great danger in the itinerant teacher, a man often of no position and doubtful credentials, who might easily be an impostor. The " teacher," therefore, although he survived the Apostolic period, was never of importance, and at a later date was rather an individual of exceptional power than the member of a particular order. He was generally, but not always, a bishop or presbyter.

The Christian missionaries were in the first place a body of teachers and preachers. They were those who spake the word of God. They had received for this task the gift of the Holy Spirit in an especial way. They were also

[1] 2 Cor. viii. 23, ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν, ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν.

the leaders in all spiritual functions. They are described in the New Testament as ministering in holy things,[1] as leaders in prayer; they are for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ.[2] It is quite in accordance with their functions that we find in the *Didache* that it is the privilege of "the prophets" to offer the solemn Eucharistic thanksgiving as they desire, and that they are designated as the high priests of the Church.[3] They had also a position of authority. Every apostle was considered to have in a special sense authority over the Church which he had founded; and the prophets and other ministers of the word were included in the number of the chief men or rulers.[4] When any of them were present they would take the lead in preaching and praying, and great authority would attach to their words and advice.

It has already been suggested how important a part these missionaries played in creating the homogeneity of the Church. Few communities could be long isolated from the general life, and new ideas would travel quickly and easily from place to place. The comparative paucity of references is no ground for thinking that these missionaries were not numerous and important. It is the characteristic of all natural and spontaneous literature, like that of the New Testament, that it does not dwell on the obvious and ordinary, but only alludes to it. And we have really quite enough evidence to make us realize how important and numerous they were. Our Lord had foretold that He would send prophets and wise men and scribes, and that

[1] λειτουργούντων αὐτῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ, Acts xiii. 2.

[2] Eph. iv. 12.

[3] *Did.* 10, "But permit the prophets to offer thanksgiving as much as they desire."

11. "And no prophet when he ordereth a table in the Spirit shall eat of it; otherwise he is a false prophet."

13. "Every firstfruit then of the produce of the wine-vat and of the threshing-floor, of thy oxen and of thy sheep, thou shalt take and give as the firstfruits to the prophets; for they are your chief priests."

15. "Appoint therefore for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men who are meek and not lovers of money, and true and approved: for unto you they also perform the service of the prophets and teachers. Therefore despise them not; for they are your honourable men along with the prophets and teachers."

[4] ἡγούμενοι, Acts xv. 23; *cf.* Heb. xiii. 7, 17.

they would be scourged and persecuted and put to death.[1] The Church was built on the foundation of the Apostles and prophets. That which had been hidden in the generations past had been revealed in the Spirit to Christ's holy Apostles and prophets.[2] The writer of the Apocalypse is filled with the thought of the prophets who had given their blood for the Church. In Babylon the blood of the saints had been shed, therefore "rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye saints, and ye apostles, and ye prophets; for God hath judged your judgement on her."[3] St. Paul, asking whether an apostolic ministry has been sent forth to bring to the people of Israel the message about Christ, is able to answer in the words of the great evangelical prophet, "How beautiful are the feet of them that are his evangelists of glad tidings,"[4] and thinking of the great army of apostles, prophets, evangelists, teachers, and saints who had received the divine commission, he adds in the words of the book of Psalms: "Their sound has gone out into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world."[5]

IV

The persecution on the death of Stephen not only taught the Church its missionary vocation: it also completed the breach between Church and synagogue. The Christians would henceforth be expelled from the synagogues, and it would be necessary for them to found new associations. In this way began the local Christian ministry and the institution of Christian presbyters.[6]

The presbyters are first mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles shortly before the persecution under Herod. Barnabas and Saul are represented as taking contributions from the Church at Antioch to the brethren in Judaea who are

[1] St. Matt. xxiii. 34; *cf.* x. 41.
[2] Eph. ii. 20, iii. 5. [3] Rev. xviii. 20.
[4] Rom. x. 15, ὡς ὡραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων ἀγαθά.
[5] Rom. x. 18.
[6] On the Presbyters see Dissertation D, "Presbyters and Deacons." Most of the points referred to here have been treated more fully in the article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for January, 1906, referred to above.

suffering from famine, and as giving them to the presbyters. The context would suggest that it was the presbyters, not only in Jerusalem, but in Judaea generally.[1] Subsequently they are several times mentioned in Jerusalem, generally in the combination " apostles and presbyters."[2] St. Paul is stated to have established presbyters in all the cities in which he had founded churches during his first missionary journey,[3] and we may assume that the author of the Acts is telling us on the first occasion when this occurred what became the normal practice. At the end of the third journey, when St. Paul wishes to bid farewell to the Church at Ephesus it is the presbyters of the Church that he summons to Miletus.[4] Directions are given for their appointment in the Epistle to Titus,[5] and they are mentioned in the First Epistle to Timothy,[6] the First Epistle of St. Peter,[7] and the Epistle of St. James,[8] while the Second and Third Epistles of St. John are written by one who calls himself a presbyter.[9] If we pass outside the limit of the New Testament, we find early evidence of the widespread prevalence of presbyters, and as soon as we have full historical information a college of presbyters is an essential element in every church.

But the evidence for their existence in the Apostolic age as a normal and regular ministry is even stronger. A careful and impartial survey of New Testament language makes it clear that the presbyters were often called " bishops " or " overseers," and also " pastors," and that when either of these is referred to presbyters are intended.[10]

[1] Acts xi. 29, " And the disciples . . . determined to send relief unto the brethren that dwelt in Judaea, which also they did, sending it to the presbyters by the hand of Barnabas and Saul." The word *πρεσβύτερος* will be translated " elder " of Jews, " presbyter " of Christians, unless there is any stress in the latter case on the question of age. [2] Acts xv. 2, 4, 22, 23, xxi. 18.

[3] Acts xiv. 23, *χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐκκλησίαν πρεσβυτέρους προσευξάμενοι μετὰ νηστειῶν παρέθεντο αὐτοὺς τῷ Κυρίῳ εἰς ὃν πεπιστεύκεισαν.*

[4] Acts xx. 17. [5] Titus i. 5. [6] 1 Tim. iv. 14, v. 1, 17, 19.

[7] 1 St. Peter v. 1. [8] St. James v. 14.

[9] 2 St. John 1; 3 St. John 1.

[10] It is needless here to discuss this point in detail as it is now generally accepted. The most important discussion is that of Lightfoot, *Philippians :* " The Synonyms Bishop and Presbyter," pp. 95-99 (ed. 4). See also Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 97-104, who supports Lightfoot's conclusions with perhaps excessive subtlety.

There is sufficient evidence for thinking that normally, if not universally, in the Apostolic period each local church had its body of presbyters, and Clement of Rome, writing at the close of the first century, correctly describes what happened when he says that the Apostles, "preaching everywhere in country and town, appointed their firstfruits when they had proved them by the Spirit to be bishops and deacons to them that should believe."[1]

What was the origin of the office? An attempt has been made to find a Greek origin. It has been pointed out that in Greek inscriptions in Asia Minor and elsewhere elders are mentioned.[2] No doubt this is true. The rule of the "elder"

For some time a rival theory, suggested by the late Dr. Hatch and worked out with great vigour by Professor Harnack, obtained some popularity, according to which the bishops and deacons represented one type of organization and the presbyters another. This has been criticized conclusively as to certain points in the opinion of the present writer by Loening (*Die Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums*), and by Schmiedel in his article on the Ministry in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, who strongly supports the identity of *episcopos* and *presbyteros*. The beginning of Lightfoot's essay is interesting: "It is a fact now generally recognized by theologians of all shades of opinion that in the language of the New Testament the same officer in the Church is called indifferently 'bishop' (ἐπίσκοπος) and 'elder' or 'presbyter' (πρεσβύτερος)." It is curious that just after this strong assertion had been made—one quite justified—a new theory was started. The whole subject is discussed by the present writer in the article of the *Church Quarterly Review* referred to above, and in Dissertation D. The particular point to emphasize is that the original and official name was "presbyter," and that other titles, such as "episcopos" and "pastor," were used as descriptive designations.

[1] Clem. Rom. 1 Cor. 42, κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθέστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν. This passage will, of course, have to be referred to more than once. It may be suggested at present that any statement contained in Clement has a right to be looked upon as a sound historical tradition. He wrote little more than thirty years after the death, in Rome, of St. Paul and St. Peter, and probably had seen and heard them both. Moreover, his statement is strongly corroborated both by the Acts of the Apostles and the Pastoral Epistles. Unless we are prepared to build our theories on the evidence that we possess no history is possible. But there is a certain class of writers who seem to think that the first postulate of true history is that no statement in an ancient author is to be believed.

[2] Evidence of the occurrence of the word πρεσβύτερος in inscriptions is given by Hatch, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 65, 66, but it amounts to very little. It is strongly criticized by Loening, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 65, who supports very fully the derivation of the Christian "presbyter" from the Jewish "elder." The theory of Hatch, and apparently

is as widespread as human nature. But the evidence is not in favour of any wide prevalence of the title, nor is the analogy with the Christian institution at all close. It is a wise rule in historical research always to seek for the simplest explanation of an event or institution, and in this case there is a very simple one close at hand. We know that in all the Jewish communities of Palestine there were bodies of elders who took part in secular administration, and had a position of honour and dignity in the synagogue. It is in accordance with all probability that the Christians when expelled from the synagogue should organize themselves in the same way. They would form a community very much on the same lines as that which they had left, and habit and custom would naturally make them call officers by the name with which they were familiar, especially as it had its source in the Old Testament. This theory exactly corresponds with the time and place at which, according to the testimony of our documents, the presbyterate arose. It has been wisely pointed out by Bishop Lightfoot that the reason why no account is given in the Acts of the first appointment of presbyters is that nothing new happened. The Christians, being expelled from the synagogue, organized themselves as another synagogue. There was no new departure as there had been when the Seven were appointed, and therefore no record was preserved of what seemed so obvious and natural. And if this be so the name points decisively to Palestine. While the old Jewish word " elder " was that which prevailed there, it was the custom of the Jews in Greek countries to adopt a Greek method of speaking, and to call their governing body *gerousia*, or senate, and its members *archontes*, or rulers. If the presbyters had been first appointed, as has been suggested, in Asia Minor or in Gentile churches, it is very unlikely that they would have obtained this name.[1]

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of Schmiedel, is that in Jewish-Christian churches the " presbyters " had a Jewish origin: in Gentile churches they arose independently. This complicated theory has nothing to recommend it except that it is inconsistent with the Acts of the Apostles.

[1] The fullest account of the organization of the Jewish communities is given by Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, ii., p. 501 (ed. 4). A summary of his conclusions by the present writer will be found in the *Church Quarterly Review*, October, 1904, pp. 54-56.

An argument which is sometimes used against this view is that whereas the Christian presbyter is entirely concerned with ecclesiastical matters, the Jewish prototype was a secular officer. Although he had a position of honour, and even authority, in the synagogue, he was not the ruler of the synagogue. It is argued, therefore, that the Jewish elder could not be the prototype of the Christian presbyter. This argument entirely overlooks the general character of the relation between Jewish and Christian institutions. It is not maintained that all the features of the new office were taken from the old, but only that the name and form of an institution was suggested by what the early Christians had been accustomed to. The spirit was necessarily quite different. The relation is in fact a particular instance of that emancipation of Judaism which was accomplished in Christianity. Judaism was a nation and a church. The spiritual elements that made it a church were taken over by Christianity, which discarded the nationalism. So, too, the Jewish communities in Palestine were partly secular, partly religious. Their officers had secular as well as spiritual functions. The Christian communities were entirely non-political, and the Jewish "elder," therefore, became by a natural process of development the Christian "presbyter."

We should have to pass beyond the evidence at our command if we attempted to describe the functions of the presbytery during the Apostolic period in any but general language, but we have sufficient information for our purpose. They were the chief officers of the local churches. Probably the statement in the *Didache* that they performed in each place the functions of prophets and teachers is true of the early as well as of the later period.[1] They were the rulers and administrators of the community. "If a man knoweth not how to rule his own house how shall he take care of the church of God?"[2] Many of them, but not all, were the teachers of the Church. "Let the presbyters that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially those who labour in the word and in teaching."[3] He is

[1] *Didache* 15, ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων. [2] 1 Tim. iii. 5. [3] 1 Tim. v. 17.

" to hold to the faithful word which is according to the teaching, that he may be able both to exhort in the sound doctrine and to convict the gainsayers."[1] They would have the place of honour in the assembly and would preside over it, and if there were no prophets or teachers present would take the lead in the worship of the Church and the Eucharistic services. As overseers and shepherds they were to be ensamples to the flock, to tend it, to guard it from evil, and when the Chief Shepherd should appear they would receive the crown of glory that fadeth not away.[2]

V

We have examined various ways in which the Church adapted its organization to the condition of affairs which arose so rapidly; we must now turn back to the Church at Jerusalem and to the Apostles and ask what position they occupy in the altered circumstances. Do they retain that position of supremacy which they held during the first days of the Church ?

The documents which we possess clearly put them in a place of authority. At every crisis in affairs they take the lead. When Philip converts the Samaritans the Apostles at Jerusalem send down Peter and John. Saul, after his conversion is taken by Barnabas to the Apostles. Peter has to give an account of the baptism of Cornelius to the Apostles and brethren in Judaea. When difficulties arise with Jewish Christians the Church at Antioch sends Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem to the Apostles and presbyters. The Acts recognizes the supremacy of the Apostles at Jerusalem. Nor can there be any doubt that this is correct. It is corroborated in St. Paul's language and actions. Much in the Epistle to the Galatians is obscure, but what is quite clear is, that whatever opinion St. Paul may have held of the relation of his own position to that of the older Apostles, their authority was recognized by the Church, and it was necessary for his full success that his work should be recognized by them. So again, when he claims for himself the privilege of an Apostle, he

[1] Titus i. 9. [2] 1 St. Peter v. 1-4.

is demanding the same position as was held by those who were in Christ before him.[1] All our evidence proves the leading position of the Apostles.

The position of importance occupied by St. Peter and in a less degree by St. John still remains. As the former had been the leader of the primitive community, so he seems to have been the leader in missionary enterprise, and records of his work in this direction have been preserved.[2] It was he who took the first step towards admitting into the Church Gentiles who were not circumcised, and his work in preaching to the Jews earned him the title of the "Apostle of the Circumcision."[3] But, however prominent may have been his position, he had no supremacy. We are told that the Apostles sent Peter and John to Samaria, and Peter is called upon to give an account to the Apostles and brethren of his action in baptizing Cornelius. St. Paul's language, also, when St. Peter has in his opinion acted wrongly, shews that he considers that he is dealing with one who, whatever the respect felt towards him, was on an equality with himself. Supremacy lies in the hands of the Church acting through the Apostles as a body.

But while the position of the Apostles in the Church remains as long as they live, a change comes over the Church at Jerusalem which is undoubted as an historical fact, although its origin and to a certain extent its character must remain largely a matter of conjecture. We find that a leading position in that community is occupied by James, the Lord's brother; associated with the Apostles are presbyters; and on the occasion of the last visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem there are no Apostles there. In particular, at the time of the Council in Jerusalem, the Acts no longer speaks of Apostles only, but of Apostles and presbyters, while the place of president seems to be occupied by James. What is the meaning of these changes?

[1] 1 Cor. ix. 1, 5.

[2] Acts viii., ix., x. It is an interesting subject for speculation whether the account of St. Peter's missionary journeys in the Clementine literature was merely an imaginative reconstruction of the novelist or whether there was an independent historical tradition behind it.

[3] Gal. ii. 8.

From the Resurrection onwards, as we know from the combined testimony of the Acts and St. Paul, the brethren of the Lord occupied a place of honour and distinction in the Christian Church. Among them St. James is most prominent. From the time of the persecution of Herod he seems to preside over the Church at Jerusalem. St. Paul, in the Epistle to the Galatians, mentions James before Cephas and John, while later tradition remembers and exaggerates his position. According to Hegesippus, "James, the brother of the Lord, succeeded to the government of the Church in conjunction with the Apostles."[1] According to Clement of Alexandria and later writers he was Bishop of Jerusalem. There can be no doubt that in the early days of Christianity the character and influence of James were of great importance. He was a stout adherent of the law; he was ascetic in his life; and these two facts made him popular with the mass of the people. It was not until the breaking up of all law and order that the extreme party were strong enough to vent their hatred upon him. But on the other hand he was a Christian, a Christian who always took the side of freedom and expansion. He gave the right hand of fellowship to St. Paul, and he attempted to conciliate the Jews at Jerusalem to him by suggesting a scheme which might shew his personal loyalty to Jewish customs. Head of the Church at Jerusalem, regarded with respect by the most prejudiced Jewish Christians and by many Jews, he used his powerful influence to keep the Church together, and helped to prevent any such division in its early days as might have been fatal to its existence.

But it is more difficult to obtain an accurate idea of his constitutional position. Perhaps in its origin it was a special appointment arising from the fact that he was the Lord's brother. Renan compares the position of the family of Mahomet in the early Caliphate, and the analogy is not incorrect. It has been suggested that he was made one of the Twelve when James the brother of John was killed. It is perhaps the case that he attained his position owing to the persecution of Herod, which made Jerusalem too dangerous a place for the Apostles. There are, however,

[1] Hegesippus *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23.

elements in the later traditions which may help in a more accurate solution of the problem. Tradition seems to speak of St. James as a Jewish high priest. Polycrates of Ephesus speaks of St. John as a "priest who wore the mitre."[1] Do not these traditions suggest that there was a tendency among some Christians to look upon the high priest and the Sanhedrin as the proper models to follow? We have seen that when the Christians were expelled from the synagogues they did what was quite natural, they founded communities of their own on the analogy of those that they had left. So when they were cut off from the fellowship of Israel after the flesh, they would naturally model their society as a whole on the analogy of the Jewish nation. If this be so, the Apostles and presbyters at Jerusalem would be looked upon, not perhaps by all Christians but by some, as the Sanhedrin of the Christians. James was in the position of a Christian high priest. Traces of this conception were preserved in Christian tradition. That St. John wore the mitre, that St. James entered the Holy Place, may be dismissed as legendary embellishments; but the fact that probably underlies them is that Jewish Christians loved to think of the Apostles as the actual inheritors of the position of the high priest and elders at Jerusalem, that a Christian Judaism had been their ideal, that they had seen in the Council of the Apostles and presbyters at Jerusalem a Christian Sanhedrin.[2]

It was natural that so long as Jerusalem was standing it should be the local centre of the new religion. "Jerusalem is the mother of us all" was the cry of the Galatian Judaizers. To Jerusalem the thoughts of Christians were directed, and to Jerusalem questions were naturally referred. In this way rose the first Christian Council at which the

[1] *Cf.* Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24.

[2] The above view was put forward in the article of the *Church Quarterly Review* referred to above, and it is interesting to see that Professor Harnack seems to have arrived at a similar conclusion.

"The new constitution in Jerusalem with James at the head and presbyters—possibly twelve—must be understood in such a way that James corresponds to the high priest and the presbyters to the Sanhedrin." *The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries.* By Adolf Harnack, translated by F. L. Pogson, M.A., edited by H. D. A. Major, M.A., p. 34.

Apostles and presbyters had to decide on the great question of the admission of the Gentiles. But it was soon clear that the new religion had in it elements of life and power which would break through these barriers. The work was done for it by quite external forces. St. Paul must have chafed under the influence of the narrow party at Jerusalem which had to be conciliated, but he had in a full measure the statesmanship which told him that at any sacrifice but that of principle the unity of the Church must be preserved. Even in his lifetime the growth of the Apostolic churches had made the influence of Jerusalem less and less important, and the destruction of the city swept away all the old conditions.

The constitution of the Church at Jerusalem thus was something abnormal, something which in its origin belonged to a temporary stage in the history of the Church. The Seven were appointed to meet an emergency. The presbyters with the Apostles were modelled on the Jewish Sanhedrin. James was a Christian high priest, and owed his unique position to his relationship to the Founder of Christianity. None of these conditions could be repeated. But at the same time the organization of the Church at Jerusalem suggests an exact resemblance to that in later days of bishop, presbyter, and deacon; and it is not improbable that that model assisted in the building up of the later organization of the Church.

VI

Thus it was that the Christian society shaped for itself the organization necessary for the world-wide mission that it had to fulfil. Let us ask what were the ideas and conceptions that lay behind this development.

How did the early Christians think of the Church? Our starting-point must be the conception that Jesus was the Messiah and all that that implied. Under Him, therefore, Israel attained its purpose. In Him a new covenant between God and man was inaugurated. The old order passed away. The new Israel was created. The Israel of old days, the Israel after the flesh, the natural Israel, had been the con-

gregation or *ecclesia* of the elect. Those who were members of it had been redeemed, and for them as members of the holy nation salvation was prepared. In the opinion of the followers of Jesus the Messiah this place was now taken by His disciples, the new community which He had formed. This thought pervades the Apostolic literature.[1] St. Paul speaks of the Israel of God. In place of the old distinction of circumcision and uncircumcision there is a new creation which includes both.[2] The true Israel is not the nation thus called. Many who belonged to that nation had no right to a place in the spiritual Israel.[3] This conception is brought out by the symbol of the olive-tree. The stock is undying. Some branches which did not bear fruit have been cut off: these are the unbelieving Jews. Branches of the wild olive have been grafted in: these are the believing Gentiles. But the life is continuous.[4] So all the terms describing the spiritual prerogatives of the old Israel may be applied to the new. They are an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession, the people of God.[5] So deeply ingrained is this belief that the Christian society is the true representative of the old Israel that St. Peter, writing to Gentiles as well as Jews, addresses his letter "to the elect who are sojourners of the dispersion";[6] and St. James, also writing to Gentiles, speaks of them as "the twelve tribes which are in the dispersion."[7]

Now this society, a society new and yet old, is normally

[1] The importance of this conception of the new Israel seems first to have been suggested by Hort (*Christian Ecclesia*, p. 10). "If we may venture for a moment to substitute the name Israel, and read the words as 'on this rock I will build my Israel,' we gain an impression which supplies at least an approximation to the probable sense. The *Ecclesia* of the ancient Israel was the *Ecclesia* of God: and now having been confessed to be God's Messiah, nay, His Son, He could to such hearers without risk of grave misunderstanding claim that *Ecclesia* as His own." The idea is made full use of by Harnack, *The Constitution and Law of the Church*. But the ablest and most complete exposition is by Hamilton, *The People of God*, vol. ii., chap. ii., "The New Israel."

[2] Gal. vi. 15, 16.

[3] Rom. ix. 7, "They are not all Israel, which are of Israel."

[4] Rom. xi. 17-24.

[5] 1 St. Peter ii. 5, 9, 10. See p. 13.

[6] 1 St. Peter i. 1, 2, ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς.

[7] St. James i. 1, ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ.

spoken of as the *Ecclesia* or "Church" of God. The word, which, we have seen, was derived from the Old Testament, and probably used by our Lord, was applied first to the primitive community at Jerusalem. St. Paul speaks of the time when he persecuted "the Church of God,"[1] and this term signified the whole society as it gradually grew which came to be looked upon as a definite division of the human race: "Give no occasion for stumbling either to Jews, or to Greeks, or to the Church of God."[2]

It lay in the nature of things that this society was absolutely unique. There was only one Church, and there could be no more. Just as there was only one nation of Israel, so there could be only one spiritual Israel. This uniqueness was a necessary deduction from the unity of the Godhead and the one method of salvation: "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as also ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all."[3] And as it is one, so it is intended for all the nations of the world: that is, it was—using a term which somewhat later became prominent—"catholic." It was to be formed from all classes without distinction. In it "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision or uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freedman: Christ is all in all."[4] This universality is involved in the very essence of the New Covenant, the salvation wrought in Christ Jesus. The old Israel was confined to one nation, the new Israel was for the world. "In Christ Jesus those who were far off are made nigh." He is our peace. He has broken down that wall of partition in the temple which separated Jew and Gentile. He has made two one. He has preached peace to him that was far off and to him that was nigh, that both alike might have access to one Father.[5]

As the Church was thus unique, as there was one and could not be a second, so there could be no division or disunion in it. We shall not have a right idea of the Apostolic Church unless we realize the necessity of its remaining one. If, for example, we study St. Paul's conduct of the con-

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 9; Gal. i. 13; Phil. iii. 6, *ἐδίωκον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.*
[2] 1 Cor. x. 32. [3] Eph. iv. 4, 5. [4] Col. iii. 11. [5] Eph. ii. 11-22.

troversy concerning the obligations of the Jewish law, we shall find that what complicated the problem with him was the paramount necessity of preserving the unity of the Christian Church. It is the instinct of a real statesman to know that the problem before him has always more than one element which is essential. It was not enough for him to assert the freedom of the Gentile Christian. He must obtain recognition for it. Unless his work was recognized, unless he kept in union with those who were in Christ before him—that is, with the Church at Jerusalem—" he would have run in vain."[1] This unity and solidarity of the whole Christian society is the fundamental assumption of the Apostolic history. The Church could only be one, and it must not be divided. " Neither for these only do I pray, but for them also that believe on me through their word; that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us."[2]

The characteristics of this society are presented to us in a series of metaphors, of which the commonest is that of the body. This conception of the " body " puts before us two leading ideas. The one is that the Church is an organism. It has differentiation of parts and an organic life. It, like the body, consists of many parts, and each of them has its own function to perform. " The body is one and has many members." The well-being of the whole depends upon each member fulfilling its proper function, and caring not for its own interests but for those of the society.[3] But this metaphor of the body brings out also another characteristic of the Church. While the Church is the body, its head is Christ.[4] All its life and vitality and spiritual power come to it from Christ. The life of the individual members depends upon their life in Christ. From Him as from their source flow forth spiritual blessings on all Christians who are thus joined with Him in a spiritual unity.

And as the Church is described as a body, so it is also spoken of as a building. It is built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being

[1] Gal. ii. 1-3.
[2] St. John xvii. 20, 21.
[3] 1 Cor. xii. 12-27.
[4] Eph. i. 22, 23.

the chief corner-stone.[1] This metaphor of the building seems to have impressed the imagination of the Church, and it often recurs in early Christian literature.[2] It, too, conveyed the idea of well-ordered, well-designed structure. The whole building presented a plan, and each stone was fitted for its place. And this metaphor also taught the spiritual significance of a society. It forms a "holy temple in the Lord," "a habitation of God in the Spirit."[3]

Such was the Church of God. But as the Church was scattered over the whole world, it was necessarily formed of many smaller societies, the believers who resided in any particular place. This local society also bore the name of Church. Sometimes it is spoken of as the Church of Thessalonica, or, again, as the Church of God which is in Corinth, or as the Church which sojourneth at Philippi. Sometimes the word church is omitted in Apostolic addresses and letters are addressed to the saints which are at Ephesus. This local community is looked upon as an undivided part of the whole society. It represented in itself all the spiritual life of the whole. It, too, had its organic life. Its members had their duties and functions. Much of the language used, for example, by St. Paul to the Corinthians may be applied equally well to the whole society as to the particular representative of it in that place. As it receives its life from the whole, so it must conform in its character to the ideals of the whole. "What? was it from you that the word of God went forth? or came it unto you only?" "We have no such custom, neither the churches of God."[4]

There are, thus, the following usages of the word *ecclesia*. There is, first of all, the *Ecclesia* or Church of God, the Christian society, the organ of redemption. Then there is the local *ecclesia* or church. Then comes the usage of the "churches," the one society looked upon as composed of a multitude of local societies scattered through the world. Lastly, we have the word *ecclesia* used of the actual assembly of Christians for worship.[5]

[1] Eph. ii. 20.
[2] Hermas, *Similitudes* 9.
[3] 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17.
[4] 1 Cor. xi. 16, xiv. 36.
[5] On the uses of the word *ecclesia* see Dissertation A.

About these expressions there are two errors to be avoided. It has been suggested that the expression the "churches" might be used in the same manner as has become customary in certain modern circles, for a number of different societies in each place separate from one another, just as there are what are called Anglican, Romanist, Wesleyan, Congregational churches in one city. It is difficult to conceive of anything more fundamentally alien to the whole spirit of the New Testament than this. As there could only be one Church of God in the world, so there could only be one Church of God in Corinth, although it might, and probably did, consist of many congregations. In fact, a considerable part of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians is devoted to preventing such a state of things arising as the modern religious world presents, and the reason why the regulations as regards food were imposed upon the Gentile Christians was to enable Jews and Gentiles to meet in the one Christian rite, the Agape or Eucharist. No justification can be found in the New Testament for our modern divisions.

Again, it has been suggested that the local community had existed prior to the general society—that it was only by contemplating the local church that St. Paul arrived at the conception of the Universal Church, and that that Universal or Catholic Church should be looked on as in reality a federation of independent units. This point of view has been put forward in the interests of Congregationalism.

This, again, is a conception alien to the spirit of the Apostolic age. In the first place, the universal *Ecclesia* is not formed out of churches, but out of individual Christians. A person was not made by Baptism a member of the local church, but of the Church of God.[1] This becomes more apparent if we consider the analogy to the Old Israel. A man was an Israelite because he belonged to the Israelite nation, not because he belonged to the local Jewish community at Antioch or Alexandria. The local body was formed of those who were Israelites, and their loyalty was

[1] Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, p. 168: "The members which make up the One *Ecclesia* are not communities but individual men."

to Israel as the whole, and not to the local synagogue. So in the New Israel, the thought of unity comes first.[1] The local church is derived from, and dependent on, the universal Church. The theological idea is earlier than its practical manifestation. And the usage of the word corresponds to this conception. It originally meant the whole congregation of Israel; and so we find it used of the Church as a whole prior to its use for the local church.

Such, then, the Christian society was conceived to be —a society intended to embrace the whole world, the temple of God, the body of Christ, the home of the work of the Spirit, the source of all spiritual blessings to those who became members of it. It stretched throughout the world, but in each place it was represented by the local church, the society of all believers within that area, the representatives of the Church of God sojourning in the world.

VII

There were three principal rites or ordinances in the Apostolic Church. Two, Baptism and the Breaking of Bread, had been present from the beginning; a third, the laying on of hands, was perhaps of later origin. It cannot be referred to any custom or command of Christ. All these had a close relation to the unity of the society.

Baptism was the rite of entrance. The two requisites to become a Christian were to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and to be baptized. This appears to have been the universal rule of the Apostolic Church, as it has been ever since of Christianity. Baptism meant to be incorporated in Christ. It was the inevitable and necessary accompaniment of the faith by which a man accepted Christ; it was the work of the Spirit; it was intimately connected with the unity of the society as the home of the Spirit: "In one Spirit were we all baptized into one body."[2]

There are certain questions which, from the point of view of modern controversy, we might desire to ask. Who

[1] Harnack, *Constitution and Law*, p. 50: "Development proceeds in the first place from the whole to the part."

[2] 1 Cor. xii. 13.

was it who baptized? To this question we can give no answer. The one thing we know is that St. Paul did not usually baptize himself. For Christ sent him not to baptize but to preach the Gospel.[1] We know, also, that Ananias, who baptized him, is described simply as a disciple. It is also specially recorded of our Lord that He did not Himself baptize. The only deduction we can make is that, as Baptism was looked upon as necessary and imperative, it was competent for any baptized Christian himself to baptize. This would not prevent the Church making quite early the regulations necessary for its orderly administration, and no doubt it would normally celebrate the rite through the regular ministry.

The second rite was the Breaking of Bread. It is once called the Lord's Supper; it came very soon to be called the Eucharist, and there are some indications that this name may have been already in use.[2] We have sufficient evidence to shew that it was the normal and habitual rite of the Church, and that it had the most sacred signification. It was the communion of the body and blood of Christ. It was the proclaiming of the Lord's death. Whoever should eat the bread and drink the cup of the Lord unworthily would be guilty of the body and blood of Christ. So awful was the rite that sickness and death, the judgement of God, had come on those who had profaned it. It, too, was intimately connected with the unity of the Church which was the body of Christ. "We who are many are one bread, one body. For we all partake of one bread."[3]

But, again, there are many questions which modern times would like to ask and to which no answer is given. Who presided at the Eucharist? Who blessed the bread and wine? On one occasion it was St. Paul, and we may reasonably conjecture that when an Apostle was present it was his function. Otherwise we have no information. After the close of the Apostolic period we learn from the

[1] 1 Cor. i. 14-17.

[2] 1 Cor. xiv. 16, "Else if thou bless with the spirit, how shall he that filleth the place of the unlearned say the Amen at thy giving of thanks?" (ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ). This might well mean the Eucharistic prayer.

[3] 1 Cor. x. 17.

Didache that it was the duty of the prophets or, in their absence, of the local ministry;[1] we learn from Clement of Rome that it was the bishops or presbyters of the Church who offered the gifts.[2] The reasonable deduction from this evidence would be that in Apostolic times also the minister of the Eucharist would be the Apostle or prophet when he was present, and if not the local ministry. But it is necessary to emphasize that this is a matter of inference from later times, and that we have no evidence. Nothing is ever said which would justify us in thinking that if a body of Christians were present with no duly appointed minister they would abstain from the Breaking of Bread. No directions are given us, and therefore the only deduction that we can make is that no principle would be involved in the matter. The blessing would be the blessing of the Church, and therefore the Church might order the blessing as it has done in its own way, and by those ministers that it appointed.

The third rite was that of the laying on of hands. We learn from a passage in the Hebrews that laying on of hands was a normal and fundamental rite of the Church, capable of being coupled with such doctrines as faith, repentance, judgement, and eternal life.[3] We also find constant reference to it in the Acts of the Apostles. At a later date we find laying on of hands the rite used by the Church in what we call Confirmation, in the Restoration of the Penitent, and in Ordination. Each of these ordinances demands some attention. What relation did Apostolic custom bear to the usage of the later Church ?

A typical instance of laying on of hands is given us in the account of the conversion of Samaria. The Apostles send down Peter and John to visit the new converts. For they had not received the Holy Ghost, they had been only baptized in " the name of the Lord Jesus. Then laid they their hands on them and they received the Holy Ghost." Further, we are told that Simon Magus, seeing that the

[1] See the passage quoted above, p. 63.

[2] Τοὺς ἀμέμπτως καὶ ὁσίως προσενεγκόντας τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. Clem. Rom. xliv. 4.

[3] Heb. vi. 1, 2.

Apostles had power so that through them the Holy Ghost was given, wished to purchase for himself this power.[1]

Now this seems to suggest (and other passages corroborate it) that normally the laying on of hands followed Baptism; that thus the gift of the Holy Spirit came; and that the proper persons to perform the ceremony were the Apostles.

Now let us turn to another incident. When Peter was speaking to Cornelius and his friends, the Holy Spirit fell on those who heard him. "They of the circumcision also which believed were amazed because on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Spirit." They were then baptized.[2] Now I think that these two incidents compared with one another are of considerable significance. The one gives the normal custom, the other an abnormal incident. And this shews the right estimate we must form of both. The abnormal incident does not take away from the authority or value of the regular custom of the Church, but it reminds us that God's Spirit is not limited or bound by any ordinances, that sacraments exist for our edification, and do nothing to limit the freedom of the Spirit and the power of God.

At a later date laying on of hands was the ordinary rite for the restoration of a penitent, and Dr. Hort has suggested that when Timothy was bidden to lay hands suddenly on no man it is to this that it refers.[3] This must remain uncertain; but it is important to notice that we have instances both of the infliction of discipline and of the restoration of the penitent. The punishment was inflicted by the community under the advice of St. Paul, and as if he were present himself. The Church of Corinth was to assemble together "in the name and power of the Lord Jesus." With St. Paul's spirit present with them they were solemnly to deliver the offender over to Satan "for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." In the case of the penitent who is to be restored, it is said, "sufficient to such a one is this punishment which was inflicted by the many." As he had sorrow he was to be forgiven. They are to confirm their love for

[1] Acts viii. 14-24. [2] Acts x. 44-48.
[3] 1 Tim. v. 22. Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 214, 215.

him. They had shewn their obedience in inflicting punishment, and now they may rightly exercise the power of forgiveness. In both cases the community acts, and in both cases under the authority of the Apostle.[1]

The third usage in later days was the laying on of hands in Ordination. This custom, too, had its origin in Apostolic times. We have already analyzed the first recorded instance, that of the Seven, and have pointed out that here we have all the essential elements of an ecclesiastical ordination. We may reasonably assume that a similar procedure would be followed in other appointments. We are compelled, in fact, to think so, for the universal prevalence in later times implies the continuity of the custom.

Let us now sum up what we can learn about the appointment and ordination of the ministry in Apostolic times. The method is described as the laying on of hands with prayer or prophecy. The meaning of the rite is given us by the prayer or prophecy with which it was associated. Prayer was offered up for all the spiritual blessings necessary for the work to which an appointment was being made, and the laying on of hands symbolized the gift that came from above. The curiosity of a more reflective age seeks to define more accurately the nature of the gift, and to inquire what is the exact significance of laying on of hands. Would the gift be given without the external rite? Such reflection was alien to the spirit of the day. Christian thought did not ask whether it was by faith or the water of Baptism that a man was saved, but said, "Believe and be baptized." It did not discriminate between the prayer and the rite, but laid on hands with prayer. It did not argue that because a man was called by the Spirit to the work for which he was appointed there was no need for ordination, but it considered that he should be ordained because he was fitted, and the Church prayed that he might receive the necessary gifts. Such gifts must be continually renewed. "Neglect not the gift which is in thee which was given thee by prophecy." "Stir up the gift which

[1] 1 Cor. v. 1-5; 2 Cor. ii. 5-11. It makes no difference as regards our argument whether the two passages refer to the same or to different incidents. The former is more probable.

was in thee by the laying on of my hands." The religious life of the early Church was in fact naturally and spontaneously sacramental, for it was a life in the Spirit.[1]

Who were ordained? There are three definite instances given us—that of the Seven, of Barnabas and Saul when they are sent forth as Apostles of the Church, and that of Timothy, who might be called Apostle or evangelist. Clearly we can make no such distinction as that which has been made between charismatic and other ministries. But, further, we learn how St. Paul appointed presbyters in the churches that he founded, and Titus is bidden appoint them in Crete.[2] We are not told that this appointment was made by laying on of hands, but all analogy would point to that. The only class of ministers concerning whose appointment or ordination there is no evidence are the prophets. It has, therefore, been assumed that as they exhibited so clearly the spiritual gifts that they had received no such recognition was necessary. It may be so. We have no evidence and can only conjecture. But it would seem somewhat inconsistent with the conception of orderliness that prevailed in the Church, nor would it explain the distinction between the prophet and false prophet. It is more probable that the Church shewed its authority by the appointment of prophets as of other orders of ministry.[3]

[1] So Harnack, *Constitution and Law*, p. 26: "Appointment to the service of the community was made by the laying on of hands, after previous prayer and fasting (Acts vi. 6, xiii. 3; 1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6; 1 Tim. v. 22). It is unnecessary to ask how this form came to be adopted, since it is a question of the continuation of a Jewish rite. That the laying on of hands was regarded as conferring the *charisma* necessary to the office is obvious from the passages in Timothy, and it is improbable that these express only a later idea. The laying on of hands was then certainly 'sacramental,' but what old or newly created rites were not sacramental in a community which had the Holy Spirit giving practical proof of His presence in its midst?"

[2] Titus i. 5, *καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους*. The word *καθίστημι*, *κατέστησα* appears to have been almost technical; *cf.* Acts vi. 3.

[3] Harnack, *Constitution and Law*, p. 24: "They are all charismatics —*i.e.*, their calling rests on a gift of the Spirit which is a permanent possession for them, and this applies ideally to the whole Church. But their charismatic character does not prevent their mandate from being recognized or in certain cases put to the test by the community."

Who ordained? The Seven were ordained by the Apostles. When Barnabas and Saul were sent out by the Church of Antioch they were separated for the work—if we interpret the passage in the most natural way—by the prophets and teachers; but it might be the action of the Church as a whole.[1] Of Timothy we are told in the one place that it was the presbytery, in another St. Paul, that laid hands on him.[2] The natural interpretation would be that it was St. Paul with the presbytery, and the analogy of a bishop and presbyters ordaining naturally presents itself. These are the only certain instances of ordination. But we have seen how the presbyters were regularly appointed in Galatia by St. Paul, in Crete by Titus, and almost certainly in every church by those who founded and organized it.

A survey of the evidence of Apostolic times would suggest that one characteristic that prevailed was that of orderliness. This took the form that circumstances demanded. Officers were appointed to meet each emergency. The action of the Church was always performed in a formal and dignified manner. The Church was the home of the Spirit; through it, therefore, came the gifts of the Spirit to its members; and it was through the laying on of hands that through the Church were conferred special spiritual gifts. We have no knowledge of fixed rules; we do not know how far any particular custom was universal. It may well be that at first there was an element of vagueness and indefiniteness in some places. Yet by the end of the Apostolic period there was probably a fixed and universal custom of ordination performed by the Church through its properly appointed ministers.

VIII

In interpreting the development of an organized Christianity, two schools of thought have prevailed. The one would ascribe the action to the whole Church, the other to the Christian ministry. According to the one we must start from the nucleus of the small body of disciples who

[1] Acts xiii. 2, *Λειτουργούντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ νηστευόντων.* Do these words refer to the prophets or to the *Ecclesia*?

[2] 1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6.

met together in the upper room, who received the gift of the Spirit, in whom resided divine authority, who formed for themselves a living organism, and gradually expanded into the Catholic Church. According to the other we must start from the Apostolic College, the Twelve who had received the divine commission, through whom came the gifts of the Spirit, who were the leaders in the growth of the society, who performed its spiritual functions, who appointed the officers of the Church, and by succession from whom comes the authority of the Christian ministry. Out of these two different theories have been devised two different conceptions of what the Church should be. What judgement on them does our study of Apostolic times suggest ?[1]

I think it will be apparent at once that throughout the Church itself is spoken of as the organ of Christian progress. At every step forward it is the Church that acts. When the Seven are appointed we are told that the saying pleased the whole multitude, and they immediately proceeded to carry it out. When Peter first preaches to the Gentiles he reports to the Church and his action is approved. It is to the Church at Antioch that Paul and Barnabas make a report of their first great mission. It is the Church at Antioch that sends Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem on the question of circumcision, and the whole Church joins in the decision there arrived at. A study of St. Paul's Epistles presents to us the local churches also as exercising such authority, not indeed as independent units, but as integral portions of the spiritual whole, yet with a life of their own. They have derived their life from the Church and received its teaching, its customs and its ministry, but within the limit thus assigned they are self-governing units, reproducing and extending the life of the whole. The importance of the community rather than the officials is shewn by the fact that it is to the Church that the Apostolic letter is written and the Apostolic directions are given.

[1] The one theory, that of the authority of the Church, is brought out most fully among recent writers by Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia;* the other, that of the Apostles, by Gore, *The Church and the Ministry.* It may be suggested that each is inclined to neglect or ignore the weight of some of the evidence.

That is clearly one side. But it must be balanced by other facts. The Church always acts through its regular and duly constituted ministers. The Apostles were chosen and appointed by our Lord Himself and did not in any way derive their commission from the Church. They take the lead in all the Church's actions. Through them it imparts its spiritual gifts. They suggest the appointment of the Seven and they lay their hands on them. They are the preachers and teachers. The Church abides in their doctrine. They in particular carry the message of Christianity, preach to, and convert the Samaritans and the Gentiles. They express and formulate the customs of the Church. Other ministers, elected often, if not always, by the Church, but appointed by the laying on of hands, perform similar functions. There never is wanting a regular ministry, and the Church never acts but through them.

It was certainly no inferior position that was ascribed to the ministers of the Church. They owed their appointment, it was stated in one place, to God, in another to Christ.[1] That did not mean that there was anything abnormal in their appointment, but that the spiritual gifts which fitted them for their work came from the Holy Spirit which was the Spirit of God and Christ, and that the Church which had called them to this office and appointed them to it was inspired by the same Spirit. Wherever the Church met together there was Christ in the midst of them working through His Spirit, and the ministers of the Church were the divinely appointed organs of the Church in its life. An organized society in which each member fulfilled its proper function for the well-being of the whole was the ideal of the Church as it presented itself to St. Paul. The Apostles, the prophets, the evangelists, the pastors and teachers, exist for the perfecting of the saints for the work of the ministry, for the building of the body of Christ. The ultimate goal is unity in Christ. "Till all come to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God."[2]

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 28, *καὶ οὓς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρῶτον ἀποστόλους κ.τ.α.*; Eph. iv. 11, *καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν τοὺς μὲν ἀποστόλους, τοὺς δὲ προφήτας κ.τ α.*: the reference is to Christ.

[2] Eph. iv. 12, 13.

I venture to think that a wise theologian will not lightly give his adherence to either of the theories which have prevailed. They are both one-sided. They only represent one aspect. Authority resides in the Church, which is the home of the Spirit, but it has always acted through its duly appointed ministers. The Church is built up on the two principles of discipleship and ministry, and neither in our historical investigation nor in our practical churchmanship can we safely subordinate either.

IX

I have sketched, so far as I am able, the constitution and idea of the Church of Apostolic times. I have tried to make allowance for all the different strains of thought that seem to appear, and not to allow myself to be carried away by any one-sided theory. I dare say my exposition will not quite satisfy anyone. I would now apply the principles that have emerged and consider what practical deductions are suggested.

1. And first I would put this deduction. It is a negative one. It seems to me clear that not one of the rival systems of Church polity which prevail at the present day can find any direct support in the New Testament. Let us take Episcopacy. There are no definite Biblical arguments in favour of it. The name we have, but its signification is different. Attempts have been made to find arguments in favour of it, the position of James the Lord's brother, the Angels of the Churches in the Revelation, the language of the Pastoral Epistles. A more careful exegesis will show us that these arguments are based upon misinterpretation. There is no Biblical authority for Episcopacy.

But that is equally true of Presbyterianism. It is quite true that there are presbyters in the New Testament, but the government of the Church is not Presbyterian. The presbyters are local officials, not of great importance, who had no wide influence and were inferior, perhaps even in a sense subordinate, not only to the Apostles, but to many others—Apostles, evangelists, prophets—who were the ministers of the Universal Church.

It is claimed with some insistence by certain writers that the early Church was Congregational. I must own that so far as I understand Congregationalism such a theory seems to me baseless. It is true that each local church (which probably from the beginning would consist of several congregations) had an independent life of its own, but it derived that life and authority from the Universal Church. From that comes to it its teaching, its ministry, its rules of life and faith. There is no trace of evidence for the idea that the whole had been built up from the contemplation or amalgamation of separate units. The local church, although it had a Congregational element, was not Congregational. It was not the unit out of which the Church was built, but the local representative of the one Church, which was prior both in life and idea as an organized society.

Nor, lastly, is there any support for Romanism. It is true that for a time St. Peter takes the lead in the primitive Church, but he is only first in order of precedency, and is subject to the authority of the Apostles generally and of the Church, and at a later date any position of prominence is held by St. James.

The ministry of the Apostolic days was in form wholly temporary. When we next have any full knowledge of its life we find that the Apostles, prophets, and evangelists are a memory of the past, the embryo Church Sanhedrin is swept away, the local churches are no longer governed by a body of presbyters, but by bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and the bishop is the official minister of the whole Church.

2. Then, secondly, there is no evidence that the Apostles ever gave any directions about the future government of the Church. At a later date the idea prevailed that the whole constitution of the Church as it then existed had an Apostolic origin, and was based on definite Apostolic injunctions. To express this idea various documents were produced under different names — the *Teaching of the Apostles*, the *Apostolic Church Order*, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the *Apostolic Canons*, and so on. Each of these documents codified the custom of the Church at the time when it was produced, and put the order on which it was based in the mouths of the Apostles or often of an individual

Apostle. They all differ from one another in many details, although they often work up the same material. It is clear that there was no historical tradition of any value concerning Apostolic ordinances in the Church. The Apostles and the Church of the Apostles' days did in all things what the times demanded. They made rules for their own time, not for the future; and because the Church was a living organism, adapting itself to newer conditions, therefore after generations modified and changed the customs which had come down to them, while still claiming to obey Apostolic injunctions.

3. If, then, we seek in the New Testament for rules and regulations concerning the organization of the Church, or if we attempt to justify our own particular system of Church order as exactly reproducing Apostolic conditions, our task will be an unprofitable one, for not only would our historical interpretation be bad, but a system which suited the Church of the first century would be entirely unfit for the Church of the twentieth. But, on the other hand, if we ask the principles on which the Church grew our work will be amply rewarded. We are presented with the picture of a society, a living organism, inspired by the Spirit of God, and capable of adapting itself to all the needs that arise. It is an orderly well-regulated polity. Under the guidance of its first ministers, who had been appointed by the Lord Himself, it appoints the officers necessary for its life, and it modifies its arrangements as circumstances change. It develops an orderly method of appointment by prayer and laying on of hands. We do not know whether this method at once became universal; we know that it ultimately did. The prayers were for the special gifts necessary for the office. The laying on of hands was the sacramental rite that accompanied the prayer. In all it did the Church acted through its duly appointed ministers, and through them it gave the commission to those that it appointed. The Church, following the example of our Lord, built up an ordered ministry, as the instrument of its action, the recipients and mediators of sacramental grace.

4. And as the Church developed its own organs, it also had the power and authority to initiate and carry

through the policy which was necessary to fulfil its mission. At each stage in advance, it acts not without friction and discussion and controversy, but with freedom and boldness. There was a continuous succession of great crises: the claims of the Hellenists, the conversion of the Samaritans, the first baptism of Gentiles, the problem of the Jewish Law. And as the Church grew the local societies, too, had their problems also which it was incumbent upon them to solve in harmony with the spirit of the whole Church. So the Church grew and developed until the time came that its first teachers and ministers passed away and it had to brace itself for newer and harder problems.

It is in this way we must learn the lessons of the Apostolic age. We want no antiquarianism. We do not want to transport into the twentieth century the form of the first. We want to learn its principles and be inspired with its spirit. We want to be able to transform our inherited organization to meet the needs of the day, as it created new forms, and we want to exhibit the same boldness and statesmanship in face of the problems of a divided Christianity which the Church of the Apostles displayed on the great question of the place and duties of the Gentiles. We want life and courage.

LECTURE III

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

"But now in Christ Jesus ye who sometimes were far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ . . . in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth into an holy temple in the Lord."—EPH. ii. 13, 21.

Episcopacy. The influence of the fall of Jerusalem. Changes in the organization of the Church. Development of monarchical episcopacy. Episcopal ordination. The bishop an officer of the whole Church. Meaning of development. Authority of Episcopacy.

The Catholic Church. Meaning of the word. Growth of the conception. Characteristics of the Church. A visible society. The sphere of the Spirit. The home of salvation. Practical questions. Good and evil within the Church. Relation to heretics and schismatics.

The principles of the Church. The ministry. Its importance. Its universality. The constitutional position of a bishop. Relations to clergy and people. Absence of representative government. Relations to the whole Church. Church Councils. Opinions of Cyprian. Later views. Unity and uniformity. Two theories of relation of bishop to Church.

The theory of Orders. The Apostolical Succession. Different meanings of the term. Succession of office and succession by ordination. What made an ordination valid? The ordination service of the *Apostolical Constitutions*. The conditions of a proper ordination.

The origin of the Catholic Church. Not in its constitution Apostolical. Not a perversion. An organic development. The Church capable of growth and modification. The true spirit of the undivided Church.

IN what is probably the oldest monument of Christian literature outside the New Testament there appears the interesting statement that the Apostles foreknew that there would be strife concerning the office of the bishop.[1] Unfortunately, the writer himself does not exhibit equal prescience, for the information that he gives us, although no doubt quite clear to his contemporaries, is so ambiguous

[1] Clemens Romanus, xliv. The passage is quoted in full below, p. 100.

and difficult of interpretation that, instead of allaying strife, as he no doubt intended, it has afforded material for controversy ever since the modern world began to discuss these questions. It is this difficult problem that we have now to approach. My subject to-day will be the development of Episcopacy and the organization of the Catholic Church.

I

In the year A.D. 70 occurred one of those events which have impressed the imagination of all ages both by its terrible character and its far-reaching importance—the capture and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. It is stated that after the victory a council was held at which the fate of the temple was discussed. Some, obedient to the Roman traditions of religious tolerance, would have left it standing. But Titus was of opinion that it should be destroyed. Thus, two evil things, Judaism and Christianity, might be more completely extirpated. Although opposed to one another they sprang from the same root; and if the root were torn up, the stem would be destroyed.[1] The story is interesting, for it reveals how singularly ineffective military action generally is against religious opinions. The Jewish nation was destroyed, but Judaism became probably a more potent influence in the world, and at the present time the number of Jews is far greater than it was in the days of Titus. As to Christianity, the destruction of Jerusalem was decisive for its future success. It meant the complete emancipation of the new faith from

[1] Sulpicii Severi *Historia Sacra* ii. 30, "Fertur Titus adhibito consilio prius deliberasse, an templum tanti operis everteret. Etenim nonnullis videbatur, aedem sacratam, ultra omnia mortalia illustrem, non debere deleri: quae servata modestiae Romanae testimonium, diruta perennem crudelitatis notam praeberet. At contra alii et Titus ipse evertendum templum in primis censebant, quo plenius Iudaeorum et Christianorum religio tolleretur. Quippe has religiones licet contrarias sibi iisdem tamen auctoribus profectas: Christianos ex Iudaeis exstitisse: radice sublata stirpem facile perituram." On this passage see Ramsay (*The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 255), who adheres to the opinion of Bernays (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*) and Mommsen (*Provinces*, ii., p. 216) that this passage is based on the lost portion of the *Histories* of Tacitus.

the Judaism in which it had grown up; it destroyed the influence of an imperfect Christianity; it enabled all the freer elements to assert themselves; it made an end of its dependence on a central authority in Jerusalem.

We have seen how the Church was governed in Apostolic times by the Apostles, how it naturally took direction from the mother-city, how there was danger of a Christian Sanhedrin growing up, and what a considerable position was occupied by James, the Lord's brother. The Church was governed too, or, perhaps, rather its cohesion maintained, by a ministry, missionary in its origin, of Apostles, evangelists, and prophets. The destruction of Jerusalem coincided with other changes. The original Apostles passed away; the spread of Christianity among the Gentiles more and more reduced the Jewish influence to unimportance; the need for settled rule took the place of missionary effort as Christian societies came to be established in every city, and as a consequence the missionary ministry declined in reputation and spiritual effectiveness. The result of all these changes was that the ministry of the local and established churches became more and more important. Apostles, prophets, evangelists, teachers gradually vanish away. Their place is taken by bishops and presbyters who govern the local church, and the cohesion of the whole body is maintained by the personal intercourse of the bishops, and by the authority of Church synods, which gradually grew and increased in importance as Christianity developed, until they culminated in the Œcumenical Council.

The transformation which was thus effected we know quite well. We have considerable, if perhaps not quite sufficient, evidence for the earlier period. We have ample information about the latter. Unfortunately, the manner of transformation is almost entirely a matter of conjecture. The growth of Episcopacy took place in just those forty or fifty years of Christian history about which we have least information, and therefore presents one of the most debated problems in theological discussion. It is no doubt in part controversial interest which has made the problem so complicated, but as far as I can judge that is only partially the cause. The real reason why we find it so difficult to

trace the early history of the episcopal office is that we have little contemporary information about it, that what we have is ambiguous and sometimes inconsistent, and that it does not answer the questions which present-day theology is so anxious to ask.

The first part of our task is to investigate the development of Episcopacy. This really involves three separate questions:

1. What account can we give of the rise of what we may call monarchical episcopacy?
2. What is the origin of the rule of episcopal ordination?
3. What were the steps by which the bishop became an officer, not merely of the local church, but of the Catholic Church?

1. What was the origin of monarchical episcopacy? The problem is this: So far as we have information, during the Apostolic and the earlier sub-Apostolic periods the Church was governed by a college of presbyters who were also called bishops. This seems to have been the case at Corinth between the years A.D. 90 and 100. But by the time of Ignatius, whose death cannot be placed much later than the year A.D. 110, a local community was governed by a single bishop with the assistance of a body of presbyters and deacons, and, in the opinion of Ignatius, a bishop was essential to a church. From this time onwards we find no other custom. How and when did the change take place?

Let us work backward from a period about which we have fuller information. For the years 175-250 we have a body of well-known writers whose works have been, in whole or in part, preserved to us—Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Clement, Origen, and many of less note; from them we can learn what was the life, the faith, and the polity of the Christian Church of their day. Now there can be no reasonable doubt that then Episcopacy was the universal custom, and that it was believed that it went back in its origin to the times of the Apostles. The question was one of importance for reasons which we shall discuss later, and it was clearly believed that the more important

churches could exhibit lists of the bishops of the see going back to an Apostolic founder. This was the case at Jerusalem,[1] at Antioch,[2] in the churches of Asia,[3] at Rome,[4] and probably in Alexandria,[5] of which church St. Mark was the reputed founder; no doubt also in other churches, such as Corinth.[6] Now the evidence is early and good, but it is not conclusive. In a hundred years there is undoubtedly sufficient time for traditions which have only an imperfect foundation to spring up: customs will change subtly, and a growth which is gradual will not be perceived.

But the early origin of Episcopacy is corroborated by other evidence. The most decisive, of course, is the testimony of Ignatius. He presents an episcopacy very much as we know it, extending from Antioch to Ephesus; in his opinion it prevails universally in the Christian Church; and

[1] On the list of the Bishops of Jerusalem see Lightfoot, *The Christian Ministry*, p. 42; Renan, *Origines du Christianisme*, v., p. 55; Harnack, *Chronologie der Altchristliche Litteratur*, i., pp. 219–230; Turner, *Journal of Theological Studies*, July, 1900, i., p. 529. And on episcopal lists generally the same writer in *J. T. S.*, January, 1900, i., p. 181, January to April, 1917, pp. 103, 117.

[2] The list of the Bishops of Antioch is given us by Eusebius. See Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i., p. 29; ii., pp. 450–468; *Clement*, i., pp. 201, 223–4; Harnack, *Chronologie*, i., pp. 208–218.

[3] On the churches of Asia see especially *Irenaeus*, III. iii., 4 (ed. Harvey), καὶ Πολύκαρπος . . . ὑπὸ Ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος; Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem*, iv. 5, "Ordo episcoporum ad originem recensus in Ioannem stabit auctorem"; Lightfoot, *Christian Ministry*, pp. 48, 49; *Ignatius*, i. 377.

[4] On the list of the Bishops of Rome see Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, I. i.; Lightfoot, *Clement of Rome*, i. 202–345, *Early Roman Succession* (where references will be found to earlier discussions); Harnack, *Chronologie*, pp. 144–202. See also Turner, besides the references above, *J. T. S.*, July, 1916, xvii., p. 338.

[5] The list of the Bishops of Alexandria is given by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* and *Chronicle*. See Lightfoot, *Christian Ministry*, p. 68; Harnack, *Chronologie*, pp. 202–207.

[6] Dionysius of Corinth, who flourished in the third quarter of the second century, thought that Dionysius the Areopagite was the first Bishop of Athens (πρῶτος τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχείριστο); see Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, iv. 23. Whether there was any authentic tradition or not this shews how early the idea prevailed that the succession of bishops went back to the Apostles. Hegesippus (*op. cit.*, iv. 22) gives us to understand that in all the cities he passed through (he specially mentions Corinth) there was a succession of bishops (ἐν ἑκάστῃ διαδοχῇ καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει).

he has no knowledge of any church without it.[1] This wide prevalence and strong authority implies an early origin, and perhaps Apostolic sanction. His evidence for Asia at any rate is supported by other writers. A tradition found in Clement of Alexandria,[2] and supported by many other writers, states that the Apostle John appointed bishops in Asia. But perhaps the strongest evidence for an early and authoritative origin for Episcopacy in this sense is that it grew up and established itself, so far as we are aware, without any co troversy or contention.

But then there is the other side. There were no bishops in the monarchical sense in the times covered by the New Testament. The name bishop was a synonym for presbyter, and it remains so at Rome and Corinth shortly before the year A.D. 100,[3] and there is some, but not very considerable, evidence for Church government by presbyters during the second century.[4]

Now, how can we account for this discrepancy? There

[1] Extracts from his letters are given below. The argument that, because he does not mention bishops in writing to the Romans, he knew that there was no Bishop of Rome, is absurd. The idea that if a writer does not refer to bishops he did not know about them is as foolish if used of that time as it would be now. Ignatius does not refer to a bishop in Rome because he is not dealing with questions of doctrine or church order. He clearly thinks that a church is not a church without a bishop, and speaks of the bishops "to the ends of the earth." If when he arrived at Rome he found there was no bishop, it would have given him a considerable shock.

[2] Clemens Alexandrinus, *Quis dives salvetur?* xlii. 2, *ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἁρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κλῆρον ἕνά γε τίνα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων.*

[3] Clem. Rom. xliv. The passage is quoted in full below, p. 100. The identity of the terms *presbyter* and *episcopus* is undoubted. After speaking of the *episcopi* who have been improperly thrust out of their office, he goes on to refer to the happiness of those presbyters who have already died, as they have therefore been freed from such an indignity. Clement has probably preferred the name *episcopus* because it enables him to apply a quotation from the LXX. Evidence has been found (and not unreasonably) that Clement knew of three orders in the fact that he compares the high priest, the priests, and the Levites to the Christian ministry (chap. xl.).

[4] The most often quoted instance is Polycarp, *Letter to the Philippians*, where he refers to presbyters and deacons but not to a bishop (chap. v.): *ὑποτασσομένους τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις ὡς θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ.* This is, of course, quite compatible with the theory suggested below. (See Lightfoot, *Ignatius and Polycarp*, i. 578.) So also it is pointed out that Epiphanius (*Panarion*, xlii. i.) tells us that Marcion was excommunicated by the Roman presbyters.

are, I think, certain points in the history of the ministry in later times which perhaps explain all the facts. In Irenæus and other writers, although bishops and presbyters are clearly distinguished, yet the bishop may be spoken of as a presbyter, and is included in their number;[1] that is, the bishop is a member and president of a college of presbyters. It is well known also that, according to one line of Church tradition, bishops and presbyters are not distinguished as separate orders,[2] and that some authorities emphasize the large identity that there is in their functions. A bishop, it is said, is only distinguished from a presbyter by the episcopal chair and ordination—*i.e.*, by the fact that he is president, and that he is essential for ordination;[3] and it must further be remembered that in the ordination of priests, it is the priests, with the bishop as president, that perform the ceremony and not the bishop alone.

Now, taking these facts as our guide, we can, I think, construct a fairly probable theory. From the beginning there was, as we have seen, in every Christian community a body of presbyters; such a body must also have had its chairman, who may well have been permanent, but who would not at first have been a person of any great importance. Gradually, as the Apostles passed away, and the missionary element in the Church declined in usefulness and prestige and influence, the local ministry would rise in importance, and in particular its chairman would become the representative of the community to those without. Gradually, by a process which was quite natural but cannot

[1] The testimony of Irenaeus is examined carefully by Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i. 377–379. "A bishop may still be called πρεσβύτερος, but a presbyter is not now called conversely ἐπίσκοπος." *Cf. Haer.*, IV. xl. 2, "Quapropter eis qui in ecclesia sunt *presbyteris* obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab Apostolis, sicut ostendimus: qui cum *episcopatus* successione charisma veritatis certum secundum placitum Patris acceperunt."

[2] See especially the dissertation in Morinus *De ordinationibus*: Exercitatio III., "De Episcopatus a Presbyteratu distinctione."

[3] Hieron., *Epp.* lxix., cxlvi.; *Ad Tit.*, i. 5; Ambrosiaster on 1 Tim. iii. 10: "Every bishop is a presbyter, but every presbyter is not a bishop; for he is a bishop who is first among the presbyters"; *Canones Hippolyti*, iv. 32 (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, vi. 4, p. 61), "Episcopus in omnibus rebus aequiparetur presbytero excepto nomine cathedrae et ordinatione, quia potestas ordinandi ipsi non tribuitur."

be traced, the name *episcopus* or bishop, which had been formerly shared by all presbyters, would be specialized, just as was the case with the name deacon, which was at first used of all Christian ministers. The process appears to be a natural one, and will explain the facts. It will explain, for example, how Linus, who had been the contemporary of the Apostles and had been appointed by them, could be considered quite correctly the first Roman bishop, although he was probably never so called in his lifetime. It would explain how the Apostle John, or, if you like, that other John who in later writers became confused with him, may well have appointed bishops, as he organized whole churches in Asia, without formally instituting a new order of the Christian ministry.

The change, then, was a gradual one. Episcopacy, like all other Church customs, had its roots in Apostolic times; but Episcopacy, as it existed in later days, was not the direct result of Apostolic action, but was the creation of the Church, which gradually moulded its institutions to fit the altered needs of the times. We have seen what those needs were: they were caused by the destruction of everything which had given coherency and unity to the Church. Time and change had swept away all those links which bound the local societies together. They might, under such circumstances, have developed in many different directions; but the strong sense of unity implanted in them from the beginning, the inevitable result of their origin, prevented any such thing; and the Church, out of elements left it by the Apostles, forged for itself a strong, elastic form of government which never checked free development, but enabled it to present to the world a splendid coherent solidarity.

2. The second question is the origin of the rule of episcopal ordination. In the developed rule of the Christian Church the one function that particularly and certainly belongs to a bishop is ordination. The rules of the Church demanded that a bishop should be consecrated by at least three other bishops, that a presbyter should be ordained by the laying on of hands of the bishop and presbyters, and that a deacon should be ordained by a bishop. These

customs became definitely fixed by canon, and ecclesiastical law forbids any others than bishops to ordain, and normally, at any rate, looks on ordinations not made by a bishop as invalid. This rule, perhaps indeed not in quite so rigid a form, or always adhered to, certainly prevailed in the third century. Whence did it arise?

Here, again, we shall find our problem difficult owing to the great paucity of trustworthy and unambiguous evidence. Even more than in the case of the origin of Episcopacy we shall find ourselves groping in the dark, and easily misled by false and uncertain light.

Our earliest evidence is contained in a well-known passage of Clement of Rome, written shortly before the year A.D. 100, to which reference has already been made. We must now quote it in full:

> "The Apostles received the Gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ was sent forth from God. Christ then was from God and the Apostles from Christ. Both therefore were from the will of God in perfect order. Having then received commands and being fully assured through the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and being confirmed in the word of God with full assurance of the Holy Ghost, they went forth, preaching the good tidings that the kingdom of God was at hand. Preaching therefore from country to country and from city to city, they appointed their first fruits, having tested them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons to them that should believe. And this was no new thing, for indeed of old Scripture had spoken of bishops and deacons. For Scripture speaketh somewhat in this way: 'I will appoint their bishops in righteousness and their deacons in faith.'"[1]

Then, after a chapter in which Clement supports his argument by the authority of the priests under the Old Covenant, he proceeds:

> "And our Apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there will be strife over the name of episco-

[1] Clem. Rom. xlii.

pacy. For this cause therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid, and afterwards they laid down a rule[1] that if they should fall asleep other approved men should succeed to their ministration. Those then who were appointed by them (that is, the Apostles) or afterwards by other men of repute, with the consent of the whole Church, and have ministered blamelessly to the flock of Christ peacefully and with dignity, in all modesty, and for a long time have borne a good repute from all, these we consider to be unjustly thrust out from their ministration."[2]

Now this passage, unfortunately, is in many ways ambiguous, and just fails to give us the information that we desire, but it does tell us something. Let us remember that it comes from one who, if not Bishop of Rome, was at any rate a man of great importance in the Roman Church, and that he writes very little more than twenty years after the deaths of St. Paul and St. Peter, that in all probability he had known them and received instruction from them. He tells us, and clearly his authority is good, that the local ministries were in the first place appointed by the Apostles, who had further laid down a rule for the appointment or ordination of others in their place. Some of the presbyters of Corinth had been appointed by Apostles, others at a later date by other leading men. Unfortunately he does not tell us what the rule was, nor who were the distinguished men other than the Apostles. The difficulty, moreover, of correlating the statements of Clement with later conditions is further increased by the fact that he uses the words bishop and presbyter as synonymous terms. He knows nothing so far as the name goes of a bishop in the later sense of the term.

It is impossible, therefore, to discover what was the custom of ordination or appointment to which he refers. His language is not inconsistent with the theory that the

[1] Reading *καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπινομὴν δεδώκασιν*. The Latin version reads "et postmodum legem dederunt."

[2] *Op. cit.*, xliv.

later rule of the Church already prevailed; on the other hand, it is equally consistent with the supposition (held by some) that the other men of repute were prophets or evangelists whose influence may not yet have died out. But all this is guess-work, and we cannot build up evidence of Apostolic custom on guess-work. What we gather from Clement's language, and it is of great importance to emphasize this, is that throughout his Epistle the sense of order prevails to a remarkable extent. Whatever may have been the rule, and whoever may have been the officers, this much is certain, that Clement believed that the constitution and orderly government of the Church depended upon rules of Apostolic origin. As in the Old Testament in the rules of the priesthood and the conduct of worship, law and order prevailed, so in the New Covenant all things must be done decently and in order, and according to established custom. It is of importance also to notice that great stress is laid by Clement, as we find afterwards on many occasions, on the fact that the presbyters or bishops had been appointed with the consent of the whole Church.

What is clear, then, is that the ministers of the Church were appointed or ordained according to a rule which was believed to be of Apostolic origin.

When we pass to a later period we are struck by the paucity of information. Although much is said during the second century about the clergy, nothing, as far as I am aware, is said about their mode of appointment or their ordination. It is one of those things which are assumed. When we pass to the third century we find the rules of ordination already described prevalent, and believed to be of Apostolic origin. There is, however, a considerable amount of evidence—none of it indeed certain or conclusive—which would suggest that these rules had not always or universally prevailed. There is some evidence that the Bishops of Alexandria had at one time been ordained by the other presbyters,[1] and this, without much warrant, is

[1] The fullest discussion of the problem that I know is in Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, 115–130, 315–320, who adds references to the literature. I can hardly endorse all Bishop Gore's contentions, but he is certainly correct in emphasizing the precarious character of the evidence.

taken as proving that originally all bishops had been appointed in this way—a most precarious inference. An early Church Order suggests a theory of appointment quite different from that of later times,[1] and other instances have been found of ordinations which more developed custom would have considered irregular. But the negative evidence is of little more value than the positive.

The conclusion that I would put to you is this: Clearly in Apostolic times ordination was by laying on of hands with prayer through the duly appointed ministry of the Church. No doubt such a custom always continued. The exact form it took depended upon the rule of the Church, and this gradually became fixed and definite. But we have no means of tracing the history of the development, nor adequate reason for thinking that the later custom was based upon definite Apostolic rule. Rather, here as elsewhere, the Church adapted Apostolic customs to the needs of the age. The source was Apostolic tradition, the rules were the rules of the Church.

3. Let us take, thirdly, the history of the steps by which the bishop came to be looked upon as an officer of the universal as well as of the local church.

Let me ask you first to consider the episcopal office as presented to us by the letters of St. Ignatius, and let me remind you of the date at which they were written, about A.D. 110, and that they are almost the only writings of that period which have been preserved, a fact which may suggest that they were generally considered to represent the mind of the Church.

Now the picture that he presents to us is that of the Church held together mainly by the influence of bishops.

[1] *The Apostolic Church Order*, chap. 16 (see Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, II., i. p. 233), "If the population be small and there be less than twelve men able to vote for a bishop, let them write to the neighbouring churches, where there happens to be one well established, that three chosen men may come from there and test whether the man to be appointed is worthy." It is often held on the basis of this passage that originally the three bishops who came to an ordination did so, not for the sake of ordaining the new bishop, but to add outside witness to the suitability of the appointment, and that probably each community could appoint and ordain for itself. This again is a precarious inference.

He speaks of them as a body of persons extending throughout the world as he knew it:

> "But since love doth not suffer me to be silent concerning you, therefore was I forward to exhort you, that ye run in harmony with the mind of God: for Jesus Christ also, our inseparable life, is the mind of the Father, even as the bishops that are settled in the farthest parts of the earth are in the mind of Jesus Christ."[1]

So he—the bishop from Syria—comes to the West with a consciousness of his office. The bishops from other churches come to meet him as a brother-bishop. He declines the authority of an Apostle and contrasts himself with them, but he exhorts not only the different churches but also his brother-bishop Polycarp in no uncertain terms. The impression that we get is that in the period that has elapsed since the fall of Jerusalem and the death of the Apostles the bishops have taken their place as those through whom in a particular way the unity of the Church and the intercourse of the churches with one another is maintained.

Our other evidence points in the same direction—the letter of Clement of Rome, the letter of Polycarp, the visit of Polycarp to Anicetus, the letters of Dionysius of Corinth, the travels of Abercius. During the second century we begin to find organized Church Councils, and as the development of the Church proceeds the Council becomes more important. The Catholic claims and position of the bishop are presented to us most conspicuously in the letters of Cyprian, who both exalted the office of the bishop and

[1] Ignatius, *Ad Ephes.* 3. Professor Bartlet (*Towards Reunion*, p. 210, and in other places) is very anxious to make out that the Ignatian episcopate was really congregational. There seems to be really no ground at all for this theory, for—

(1) It is quite unreasonable to think that in a large city like Ephesus, for example, there was only one congregation. Even in Apostolic times there were churches in different houses.

(2) The relation of the ministry to the church is fundamentally different from anything we associate now with congregational polity.

(3) The bishop is quite clearly looked upon as an officer not merely of the congregation but of the whole church.

(4) The whole purpose of Ignatius' instructions was to prevent congregationalism (*cf.* Ign., *Ad Magn.* 4, 7).

extended its practical influence by organizing the Church Council. Unity, he claims, it is the special function of the bishops to maintain, by exhibiting a single undivided episcopate. The end of this development is the Œcumenical Council of Nicæa.

Now it has been maintained that this process of growth really meant that a church originally congregational in its character gradually developed into Catholicism. We start, it is maintained, with the small local community, a congregation; by a process of development, or, as it is suggested, degeneration, from this gradually came the later conception of the one Church. This does not seem to me rightly to describe the historical process. We have seen how the whole idea of the Church starts from unity, and that conception, it must be remembered, lies behind all the later history. What really happened was that by a process which was unobtrusive and unconscious the expression of the corporate consciousness of the Church gradually passed from the Apostles and prophets and other missionary ministers to the bishops. This change, like all the others, took place during the years following the fall of Jerusalem, just, in fact, during that period of which we have so little knowledge. What happened was not that a Congregational Church grew into the Catholic Church, but that the Catholic Church, which had existed from the beginning in idea and had expressed itself first mainly through the enthusiasm of its missionary life, gradually came to express itself in a manner which harmonized with the new conditions and developed a framework suitable to its life.

I have tried to suggest the way in which Episcopacy, as we know it in the Christian Church, came into being. I have suggested that it was the creation of the Church developing those principles of ministry and life which it had inherited from the Apostles. It had its origin in the Apostolic Church; it represents a continuous development from Apostolic times; but we cannot claim that it has Apostolic authority behind it. We must recognize that we cannot claim such authority for any Christian institution or teaching unless there is the clear and certain evidence of documents coming from the time of the Apostles, and we

cannot believe that our Lord could have intended that any institution should be looked upon as essential to the existence of the Church without giving explicit and certain directions. He instituted the Eucharist and gave a command about Baptism, but He did not directly institute or command Episcopacy. We cannot claim that it is essential to the Church. Equally it is clear that there is no Apostolic ordinance to be quoted in its support. There is no adequate or sufficient evidence that it was instituted by Apostles. We must recognize that the authority that can be claimed for it is so far limited.

But having said that, we can justly and rightly maintain that it comes to us with the authority of the Church of the earliest and all subsequent centuries; that it is the direct and natural development of Apostolic institutions and the principles laid down by our Lord; that the Church, as a living organism, built up for itself a strong and effective instrument by which it might fulfil its mission, and maintain and pass on to future generations the divine word and life with which it had been entrusted.

II

The history of the Episcopate describes the origin of that form and expression of the Christian Church which came into being during the second century, by the end of that century was firmly established, which preserved its unity and solidarity until the schism between the East and West, and forms the basis of the organization of by far the greater part of the Christian Church at the present day. There has been change and growth; a knowledge of history reveals to us great variety of opinion and many changes of policy; but the fundamental principles remained unaltered. It is this conception of the theory and organization of the Church, generally designated by the term Catholic, that we have now to study.

Let us examine first the meaning of this word. Originally it means universal, and in that sense it is used in a well-known passage of the letters of Ignatius: "Wherever the bishop shall appear, there let the people: even as where

Jesus may be, there is the Catholic Church";[1] and that is the meaning that it has in the Creed. As such it presents to us a fundamental idea of the Church as founded by our Lord and preached by the Apostles. The fundamental characteristic of the new Israel was that while the old Israel was confined to one race, the new Israel was to be of every nation and people, universal throughout the world. "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel." The barrier between Jew and Gentile had been broken down and the universal society thus created. The word "Catholic" in this sense represents just that conception of the Church which we find in the Epistle to the Ephesians.

But gradually and naturally other ideas came to be added, as it was necessary to distinguish this one society from the imperfect societies which were separated from it. The one Church was universal, the other societies were local and particular. To the idea of universality there came to be added the conceptions of orthodoxy and unity. The one Church taught everywhere the same doctrine; the heretics had many different creeds. So the note of the Church was its oneness and what was held to be its orthodoxy. These further ideas of orthodoxy and unity are well brought out in the definition given us by Cyril of Jerusalem:

> "It is called Catholic because it stands over the whole world, from one end of the earth to the other; and because it teaches universally and completely one and all the doctrines which ought to come to men's knowledge, concerning things visible and invisible, things on earth and things in heaven; and because it brings into subjection to godliness the whole race of mankind, governors and governed, learned and unlearned; and because it is the universal physician and healer of every kind of sin, whether committed by the soul or the body, and possesses in itself every form of virtue which is named in deed and in word and in every kind of spiritual gift."[2]

[1] Ign., *Ad Smyrn.* 8. The ablest and fullest discussion on the history of the word will be found in the note of Lightfoot, *ad loc.*, and in the first volume of his edition, p. 398. There are also some interesting remarks in *Catholicity* by T. A. Lacey, M.A., chap. i., "The Word and the Idea."

[2] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.*, xviii. 23.

What, then, was this Catholic Church? The important thing for us to notice is that during all this period there was one definite visible society which could rightly claim this name, and that there was no apparent rival, no other body which could compete with it. The Church which claimed to be such was the Universal Church, and a person looking at it from outside would have little difficulty in identifying it. It is this obvious fact that coloured all the definitions and conceptions of the time, and made the problems connected with it appear easier of solution then than they do now, and than they really were even then.

In the first place, then, this Church was a visible society, nor is there any evidence that the conception of an invisible Church, as it was conceived at the time of the Reformation, then existed. There was, indeed, in the opinion of many theologians influenced by the predominant Platonic philosophy a heavenly Church of which this earthly Church was an imperfect copy, with the natural imperfections of earthly things. They did not, however, know of any earthly society save the one visible body. Entrance into this society was by Baptism, and, although there was a system of discipline, it contained both good and evil. The Church was the home of the Spirit. "Where is the Church there is the Spirit of God," said Irenaeus, "and where the Spirit of God, there is the Church."[1] This meant not that there was a spiritual Church apart from the visible Church, but that in the Church only could the gifts of the Spirit be received. It was on this principle that the strongest arguments of Cyprian in the rebaptism controversy[2] and those used against Augustine in the Donatist controversy were based, because, as appears, the position was one universally accepted. Outside the Church there were no gifts of the Spirit.

[1] Irenaeus, *Haer.*, III. xxxviii. 1, "Ubi enim Ecclesia ibi et Spiritus Dei; et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic Ecclesia, et omnis gratia: Spiritus autem veritas."

[2] Cyprian, *Ep.* lxix. 10, "Qui quoniam pertinaces alias et indociles uel hoc tamen confitentur quod uniuersi siue haeretici siue schismatici non habeant spiritum sanctum, et ideo baptizare quidem possint, dare autem spiritum sanctum non possint, in hoc ipso a nobis tenentur ut ostendamus nec baptizare omnino eos posse qui non habeant spiritum sanctum."

As the home of the Spirit, the Church was the source of all spiritual gifts. She was the mother who fed her children with spiritual food:

> "O wonderful mystery," says Clement of Alexandria, "one is the Father of all, one is the Word of all, one the Holy Spirit, the same everywhere; one too she who is alone the Virgin Mother, for this I love to call the Church, a mother with no milk of her own, never a wife, alike virgin and mother, a virgin unspotted, a mother beloved, calling to her her own sons, and feeding them with the holy and nourishing milk of the word."[1]

And as the Church was the home of the Spirit, so it was the home of salvation. "There can be no salvation for anyone except in the Church," said Cyprian. "He is not a Christian who is not in the Church of Christ." "No one can have God as his Father, that has not first the Church as his mother."[2] Now, undoubtedly, Cyprian stated his belief in a logical and trenchant fashion from which some even then might shrink. Many, for example, would not carry their principles so far as to deny the possibility of salvation to a heretic who had suffered martyrdom, because there was no salvation except in the Church.[3] Such beliefs as the baptism by blood were the natural efforts of a humane instinct to escape from a too severe logic.[4] There can, however, be no doubt that the normal belief to which Cyprian could appeal was that it was only for those who were in the Church that there was salvation, and that all outside would undoubtedly perish. It was on this belief that the discipline of the Church was built up. If excommunication meant (as it seemed at any rate to most people to mean) cutting off from the Church, and that

[1] Clem. Alex., *Paedagogus*, vi. 42.

[2] Cyprian, *Ep.* iv. 4, "Cum domus Dei una sit et nemini salus esse nisi in ecclesia possit"; *Ep.* lv. 24, "Christianus non est qui in Christi ecclesia non est"; *Ep.* lxxiv. 7, "Ut habere quis possit Deum patrem, habeat ante ecclesiam matrem."

[3] Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxiii. 21, "Quod si haeretico nec baptisma publicae confessionis et sanguinis proficere ad salutem potest, quia salus extra ecclesiam non est."

[4] Cyprian, *Ep.* lvii. 4, "Qui martyrium tollit sanguine suo baptizatur; *Ep.* lxxiii. 22. This baptism by blood is said to be the other baptism with which our Lord said He had to be baptized.

meant to be deprived of salvation, then it was natural to be ready to undergo the most severe penance in order to be restored to communion. For a similar reason the absolution given by those holy men, the confessors, was eagerly sought after. The spiritual power of the Church cannot be realized unless we understand that the fundamental conception was that the Church was the exclusive home of salvation.

The conception of the Church as a great world-embracing society, the source of all spiritual blessings, the source of salvation, stirred the imagination of the Christian theologian:

> "God hath set in the Church," said Cyril of Jerusalem, "every sort of virtue, I mean wisdom and understanding, temperance and justice, mercy and lovingkindness, and patience unconquerable in persecutions. She, by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, by honour and dishonour, in former days amid persecutions and tribulations, crowned the holy martyrs with the varied and blooming chaplets of patience, and now in times of peace by God's grace receives her due honour from kings and those who are in high places, and from every sort and kindred of men. And while the kings of particular nations have bounds set to their authority, the Holy Church Catholic alone extends her power without limit over the whole world: for God, as it is written, hath made her border peace."[1]

Such, in theory, was the Catholic Church. But in practice two questions of great difficulty arose early as they were bound to do. How could you harmonize this teaching with actual facts? What was to be said about those within the Church who did not live a Christian life? And, secondly, what was the relation of the Church to those who, while professing the name of Christ, were separated from His body?

The first question was one intimately connected with the doctrine of penance.[2] The Church was holy. Its

[1] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.*, xviii. 27.

[2] On the history of the doctrine of penance see Batiffol, "Les Origines de la pénitence," in *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive* (Paris, 1902), i., pp. 43-222.

members were the Saints. Did this mean that only those who were really such should be allowed to remain within its communion? At first, as was natural when the Church was a small and exclusive body militant against the world, the discipline was severe. All sins had been washed away in Baptism, but there were passages in the New Testament which seemed to imply that there was no forgiveness for heinous sins committed after Baptism. So it came to be generally, though not universally, held that for murder, adultery, and apostasy, no forgiveness on earth was possible. For lesser sins penance no doubt was severe. Although a book like the *Shepherd of Hermas* pleaded for greater recognition of the Divine mercy, the policy of the Church remained generally strict throughout the second century. It is at the beginning of the third century in the Church of Rome that we find less severity. A famous edict was issued by the Bishop Callistus which roused the anger of Hippolytus (was he a rival bishop?) and of Tertullian, whose fierce African temperament made him seek in Montanism the pure society which he failed to find in the Catholic Church. Callistus proposed to allow those guilty of adultery to be restored to communion after public penance. Tertullian denies this right to the carnal church of bishops. The only Church which can forgive sins is the Church of the Spirit acting through a spiritual man, not the Church which consists merely of a crowd of bishops. "For the right and arbitrament is of the Lord and not of the servant, of God himself and not of the priest."[1] The language of Tertullian is that of the Puritan as exhibited in all ages throughout Church history, but it must be noted that the Church which he desired was not, any more than the Catholic Church, an invisible society, but a visible community governed by truly spiritual men and free from any contamination of evil.

Thirty years later the same controversy broke out in a more serious form. The tendency during these years had been towards greater charity or laxity. It had become

[1] Tertullian, *De Pudicitia*, xxi., "Et ideo ecclesia quidem delicta donabit, sed ecclesia spiritus per spiritalem hominem, non ecclesia numerus episcoporum. Domini enim, non famuli est ius et arbitrium; Dei ipsius, non sacerdotis."

recognized that even in the case of the most heinous sins, the Church could exercise through the bishop the power of reconciliation. But in the Decian persecution a new crisis arose. This had been an organized attack on Christianity. It had had considerable success. Many had apostatized or had evaded sacrifice by bribery. What in the future would be their position in the Church? It would be beside our purpose to pursue the long and intricate controversy which sprang up. The important point for us is that against the statesmanlike policy organized by Cyprian and Cornelius, there arose the schism of Novatian. He and his party claimed to be the pure, the *Cathari*, who preserved the wholesome tradition of early days and would have no compromise with evil. But except on this point their theory of the Church was exactly the same as that of their opponents. Only they claimed that they, and not the conventicle which admitted into its fold adulterers and murderers and apostates, formed the true Church. The same situation recurred again at the time of the Donatist schism of Africa. To this we shall come later; meanwhile it is sufficient to emphasize that the position had become accepted that the Christian Church was a visible society in which good and evil were mingled together until the final sifting, and that, whatever penance for the soul's health might be imposed, none could permanently be excluded except those who pertinaciously refused to submit to its authority.

It was largely out of these controversies and the schisms that resulted from them that the second controversy which concerned the nature of the Church arose. What was the relation of the Catholic Church to heretics and schismatics?[1] Here, again, in the earlier period the rule seems to have been strict and rigid, at any rate in many parts of Christendom. Not perhaps universally, but generally the rule prevailed that heretical baptism was null and void. One who was baptized by heretics was not really baptized at all, and therefore he must, if he entered the Church, receive

[1] This question is traced at length by Mr. C. H. Turner in *The Early History of the Church and Ministry*, with special reference to reordination.

the rite of the Church. And the same principles applied to all other sacraments. Heresy in the second century generally meant Gnosticism, and the difference from the Catholic Church was so great that the rule might seem reasonable. Many Gnostics were hardly Christians at all. Their beliefs were extravagant and fantastic, their morals doubtful, and their ordinances irregular. Tertullian in his early years was very severe on the orders of heretics. Their ordinations are rash, fickle, inconstant. Now it is neophytes, now it is men engaged in worldly affairs, now it is apostates from ourselves that they appoint. One man is bishop one day, one another. A deacon to-day is a reader to-morrow. A presbyter to-day a layman to-morrow. The laity even are allowed to perform sacerdotal functions.[1] So the strictness of the Church in the second century was natural enough.

But it became very different when the heretics or schismatics were those who had separated from the Church, and perhaps only on a question of order. Take the Novatians. They held exactly the same faith. Novatian's *Treatise on the Trinity* represented the most advanced orthodoxy of the time. They had (as we should say) the same orders. Novatian was ordained by three Catholic bishops according to the rites of the Church. They had the same sacraments administered in the same way. They had the same Christian life.[2] How was it possible to say that they were not baptized Christians, and how could it be right to repeat their baptism? It was on this question that the controversy began during the third century.

[1] Tertullian, *De Praes. Haer.*, xli., "Ordinationes eorum temerariae, leves, inconstantes. Nunc neophytos conlocant, nunc saeculo obstrictos, nunc apostatas nostros, ut gloria eos obligent, quia veritate non possunt. Nusquam facilius proficitur quam in castris rebellium, ubi ipsum esse illic promereri est. Itaque alius hodie episcopus, cras alius, hodie diaconus qui cras lector, hodie presbyter qui cras laicus. Nam et laicis sacerdotalia munera iniungunt."

[2] This is well put by Cyprian, who always states his opponents' arguments with fairness and admirable lucidity. Cyp., *Ep.* lxix. 7, "Quod si aliquis illud opponit ut dicat eandem Nouatianum legem tenere quam catholica ecclesia teneat, eodem symbolo quo et nos baptizare, eundem nosse Deum patrem, eundem filium Christum, eundem spiritum sanctum, ac propter hoc usurpare eum potestatem, baptizandi posse quod uideatur interrogatione baptismi a nobis non discrepare."

Stephen, Bishop of Rome, claiming, although with doubtful authority, that he was acting in accordance with Apostolic custom, admitted the baptism of all those who had been baptized in the name of the Trinity. Cyprian took the opposite view. This controversy was settled, at any rate for most theologians in the West, by the Synod of Arles, which admitted such baptism. But a further and more difficult question arose concerning orders. This was considered by Augustine in reference to the Donatists and long divided the Church.[1]

This question will demand careful attention; it is, in fact, a fundamental question of these lectures. For the present it is sufficient to note that that theory of the Church which identified it with the one visible body which was called the Catholic Church, and with that alone, inevitably led to a position of extreme difficulty, and caused much inconsistency and perplexity.

III

This Christian society, the Church, was bound together by certain great principles of life and belief. It had a common faith, contained in the Scriptures, which it had inherited and formulated in a creed. This creed was at first different in its form in each locality, although always expressing the same faith; ultimately, as the corporate expression of the Church's life grew more developed, and as the need of guarding against false teaching appeared to be more necessary, it became one for the whole Church. The Church enjoined on all a lofty moral code based on the teaching of its Founder. It had an ordered sacramental system, adapted to the spiritual needs of its people, which might bring spiritual help to all by a regular rule of devotion and the divine gifts that it administered. It had a carefully elaborated discipline which might stir up those that had fallen, but allowed the restoration of their privileges

[1] See, besides Mr. Turner's essay already referred to, the dissertation in Morinus, *De Sacris Ecclesiae Ordinationibus*, Exercitatio V., "De Sacrarum Ordinationum Iteratione"; and *Les Réordinations, Étude sur le sacrement de l'ordre*, par l'abbé Louis Saltet (Paris, Libraire Victor Lecoffre, 1907).

on a true repentance. The society was administered, its teaching office exercised, its sacraments performed, its discipline imposed, its unity preserved, by a ministry to which it gave a high authority and a lofty spiritual position. All its functions were spiritual, and until the secular power began to intervene the authority, the discipline, and the rules of the Church were entirely dependent on spiritual sanctions. The only power it had was dependent upon the right of excommunication, and that power was effective only among those to whom it was a deprivation to be excluded from the fellowship and Sacraments of the Church. It depended upon personal belief.

It is not necessary to examine the history of these various lines of development; it is necessary for us to study with some care the Christian ministry as it is presented to us, for it formed the framework on which all the activities of the Church depended, and all questions of reunion are intimately dependent on theories of the ministry.

The Christian ministry was held to consist in its essence of three orders—bishops, priests, and deacons. To these came to be added the further orders, subdeacons, acolytes, readers, exorcists, doorkeepers, and sometimes singers; but there was greater variety as to the presence of these in the different local churches, and they were not looked upon as essential to a Christian church. On the other hand, it early came to be considered that the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons were essential. Although the language varies, and sometimes stress is laid on the bishop alone, more often it is on the three orders together. Both these statements meet us as early as Ignatius: "It is good," he writes, "to recognize God and the bishop. He that honoureth the bishop is honoured of God; he that doeth aught without the knowledge of the bishop rendereth service to the devil."[1] More commonly it is the three orders of the ministry together who are spoken of with reverence. "In like manner let all men respect the deacons as Jesus Christ, even as they should respect the bishop as being a type of the Father and the presbyters as the council of God and as the college of Apostles. Apart from these there is not

[1] Ign., *Ad Smyr.* 9.

even the name of a church."[1] If we turn to another strong supporter of Episcopacy more than a century later we have the same dual usage. On the one hand: "The bishop is in the Church and the Church in the bishop. He who is not with the bishop is not in the Church";[2] but elsewhere: "The Church is constituted in the bishop and the clergy and the faithful laity."[3] Ignatius and Cyprian are both well-known supporters of Episcopacy and Church order, and we naturally ask whether their conception is modified by others. It is indeed undoubtedly true that there are different degrees of strength in the language used by different writers, and considerable variety in the stress laid on the ministry. There are some who take more interest in such things and some less; but I doubt whether there was anyone after a quite early period who had any other conception of the ministry or Church; and this is true not only of churchmen, but also of heretics. After the time of Montanism there is no break in the custom, although as much as in our own day there were some who liked bishops and others who did not. But the recognition is universal. Clement of Alexandria, for example, obviously does not take much interest in such things. He was a philosopher with a tendency to mysticism, but he considers that the grades of office in the Church, the bishops, presbyters, and deacons, are imitators of the angelic glory and of that economy which awaits those who have lived in righteousness; and he can conceive nothing better to say of the Gnostic—his ideal Christian—than that he is a true presbyter and will in the future life receive that grade.[4]

It has been maintained that instances may be quoted

[1] Ign., *Ad. Trall.* 3, *Ὁμοίως πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὄντα τύπον τοῦ Πατρός, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ, καὶ ὡς σύνδεσμον ἀποστόλων. χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται.*

[2] Cyp., *Ep.* lxvi. 8, "Unde scire debes episcopum in ecclesia esse et ecclesiam in episcopo et si qui cum episcopo non sit in ecclesia non esse."

[3] Cyp., *Ep.* xxxiii. 1, "Quando ecclesia in episcopo et clero et in omnibus stantibus sit constituta."

[4] Clem., *Strom.*, VI. xiii. 106, "That man is a true presbyter of the Church and he is a true deacon of the counsel of God, who teaches and carries out the words of the Lord, not ordained of men nor reputed righteous because he is a presbyter, but enrolled in the presbytery because he is righteous, and even if here on earth

which prove that this constitutional form was not universally accepted. It is true indeed that Tertullian as a Montanist was an anti-episcopalian. Montanism represented undoubtedly a protest against organized Christianity, but it rather witnesses to the extent to which the organization prevailed. Any other attempt to find a different form of organization appears to be based on misconceptions. The opposition against Cyprian was organized by presbyters, but it was not presbyterian. The strong assertion of the rights of his order made by Jerome was based historically on the claim to presbyterian ordination in Alexandria —a very doubtful support. It represented the growing independence of the individual presbyter which was the natural result of the more numerous churches, of the increased number of the faithful, and of the larger dioceses. So far as regards the position of the bishop there is really no fundamental change from the time of Ignatius. The gradual suppression of the presbyterate is a pure fiction, and as the Church grew the tendency was for the individual presbyter to attain greater freedom of independent action.[1]

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he is not honoured with the chief seat, he will sit on the four and twenty thrones judging the people, as says John in the Apocalypse."

(107) "Since the orders in the Church on earth of bishops, priests, and deacons are, I think, imitations of the angelical glory and of that dispensation which the scriptures say awaits those who have lived in the steps of the Apostles in the perfecting of righteousness according to the Gospel."

It may be noted that although Clement has the natural contempt which philosophers always exhibit towards the actual clergy, it implies no depreciation of the established hierarchy or any conception that there could be any different form of church government.

[1] That the development was from one point of view that of the presbyterate is brought out by Mr. Turner in his chapter *On the Organization of the Church* in the Cambridge Medieval History (vol. i., chap. vi.). The change was not quite a simple one:

(1) The original governing body of each local church was undoubtedly the college of presbyters with a presiding bishop. So far as government goes the tendency was for the bishop to become more important.

(2) In the earlier period, when the churches were small, the bishop seems to have conducted all liturgical services, and the right of others to perform any such function depended simply on delegation from himself. When the churches became larger the presbyter acquired as inherent in his office all liturgical functions except laying on of hands in ordination or confirmation.

The college of presbyters decreased in importance, but the status of the individual presbyter became higher.

The next point that demands our attention is the constitutional position of a bishop. What was the extent and limitation of his power? Our fullest information about episcopal activity comes from Cyprian, and there can be no doubt that he exercised his office somewhat autocratically. But, on the other hand, he was a lawyer, he would care for constitutional forms, and observe them; and we find that he is always most particular to pay at any rate verbal homage to the rights of others. Now his writings make it clear that if the Church depends upon the bishop, the bishop himself depends upon the Church. He is their representative, elected by their suffrage. Cornelius had been made Bishop of Rome "according to the judgement of God and His Christ, on the testimony of nearly all the clergy, by the vote of the laity who were present, and with the consent of bishops, men of age and character."[1] What did this mean? The judgement of God was believed to have been shewn by the voice of the Church. We have no evidence of actual voting. We may presume that the laity assented by their applause to the testimony recorded to anyone proposed as a candidate.[2] It may be doubtful whether there was any constitutional form, but the bishop was intended to be and, normally at any rate, was the man chosen by the voice of the people. In the same way if a bishop was unfaithful or immoral the people might leave him, in fact ought to do so.[3] No doubt there were occasions when the carrying out of these principles, especially in the absence of any constitutional form, produced friction and controversy, but they leave no doubt that the bishop was looked upon as the representative of the people.

In the same way in the administration of his office the bishop acted in accordance with the will of the people and after consulting them. We are able to learn this

[1] Cyp., *Ep.* lv. 8.

[2] The most interesting account that I am acquainted with of the election of a bishop is that of the successor of St. Augustine (*Ep.* ccxiii.).

[3] Cyp., *Ep.* lxvii. 3, "Propter quod plebs obsequens praeceptis dominicis et Deum metuens a peccatore praeposito separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi sacerdotis sacrificia miscere, *quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem uel eligendi dignos sacerdotes uel indignos recusandi.*"

from the peculiar circumstances which led to so much of the correspondence of Cyprian. He was away from his people in retreat with some few clergy. The normal life of the Church was broken up, and the regular public assemblies for worship and Church government no longer possible. On various occasions Cyprian wishes to ordain to minor orders, and on each occasion he emphasizes the point that he does not usually take such action except after consultation with the whole Church. From the beginning he had laid down a rule that he could do nothing on his own private motion without the counsel of the clergy and the consent of the people.[1] Still more important is the ideal that he puts forward with regard to the difficult question of the lapsed. That was one which had been treated in consultation with the bishops of the province, presbyters, deacons, confessors, and the faithful laity; and he claims that therefore the decision arrived at had the authority of the whole Church.[2] No doubt a strong-willed bishop would generally carry his clergy and people with him, and even by the respect for his office might overpower their will, but that did not take away from the constitutional right which they possessed and often exercised.

There was a certain difference from the point of view of modern times. There was not any system of representative government. There were no councils of the laity; their position was not clearly defined. It must be remembered that the Christian society was not so large as it afterwards became, and probably the defects of later years arose from the fact that the methods of early days had become no longer applicable. The laity had, however, a recognized position in the constitution of the Church; their assent was necessary to all that was done; they were present at all

[1] Cyp., *Ep.* xiv. 4, "Quando a primordio episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consilio uestro et sine consensu plebis me priuatim sententia gerere."

[2] Cyp., *Ep.* xxxi. 6, "Consultis omnibus episcopis presbyteris diaconibus confessoribus et ipsis stantibus laicis"; *Ep.* xxxiv. 4, "Cui rei non puto me solum debere sententiam dare, cum multi adhuc de clero absentes sint nec locum suum uel sero repetendum putauerint et cognitio haec singulorum tractanda sit et limanda plenius, non tantum cum collegis meis, sed *cum plebe ipsa uniuersa*." *Cf. Ep.* xix. 2, xxx. 5.

Synods and Church Councils, where they could express their assent or dissent; they are definitely included in the addresses of Cyprian's letters.[1] The fact of the absence of modern methods of government has often obscured the influence and authority of the laity in the early Church; but if we study the history carefully we shall see that in reality in their hands often lay the final decision. A Church Council which decided a question contrary to the general sense of the Church failed. It became known in history as a robber synod. If a bishop adopted a policy in which the laity would not follow him, he would divide the Church and very likely cease to be bishop.

We turn now to the relation of the bishop to the Church as a whole. In the letters of Cyprian we have a theory and practice clearly depicted. Certain great questions agitated the Church, the treatment of the lapsed and the baptism of heretics. It was obviously desirable that there should be united action. This Cyprian, who had large and statesmanlike instincts, desired to obtain by means of Church Councils on a large scale. The bishops in each province should meet together and should communicate their decisions one to another. In that way unanimity or common action might be obtained. This policy was supported by a theory of the unity of the Church. That lay in the solidarity of the episcopal body. They had their origin in one, for the commission of authority was given to one man, Peter, originally. That implied unity. But it did not imply any supremacy. Each bishop had an equal share in this authority, but the Church was bound together by the harmony and solidarity of the whole episcopal body.[2]

How far did Cyprian represent the general Church opinion ?

So far as practical development went his policy was accepted. There can be no doubt that his action made

[1] So the first letter is addressed, "Presbyteris et diaconibus et plebi Furnis consistentibus." See also xvii., xxxviii., xxxix., xl., xliii., lviii., lxv., lxvii., lxxxi.

[2] See especially the *De Unitate*, chap. 4, 5. The question has been, of course, often discussed, most recently by Dr. Bernard in *The Early History of the Church and Ministry*, and with great ability by the Rev. T. A. Lacey, M.A., in *Unity and Schism* (London, Mowbray and Co.), Appendix II., "The Scheme of St. Cyprian."

the Church Council a power which it had not been before, and led directly to the Œcumenical Councils of the fourth and following centuries. The Œcumenical Council has not always been so imposing a body as we might desire, but as an organ for formulating the voice of the Church and preserving its freedom its action has been wholesome and effective. The divisions of Christianity have been largely due to the suppression of the Church Council, or to its action being rendered ineffective by the power of the State, by the rivalry of nations and races, and by the ambitions of the Papacy. It will only be in and through councils which transcend the present divisions of nations and churches that unity can be restored.

But the theory is one which only imperfectly represents the feeling of the undivided Church. During Cyprian's time there were no divisions on questions of faith; they arose entirely on matters of Church order. But in the fourth century every question was one of truth and falsehood, and an entirely different standard arose. Many bishops failed in their orthodoxy. Whole councils arrived at decisions which the Christian sense refused to accept. You could not judge a man's orthodoxy by the fact that he was a bishop, a bishop must be estimated by the orthodoxy of his teaching. The standard, therefore, became one of faith. The short, clear-cut ways of arriving at a decision on truth and order which Cyprian tried to establish failed, as they always have failed. The unity of the Church depends on its faithful preservation of the Evangelical and Apostolic tradition. That includes the Creed, the Sacraments, the Christian life, the traditional order. On no one of these can exclusive stress be laid. No one will give a clear standard of Church unity. That, as our history proceeds, will become plain. The standard of unity should be the full Apostolic tradition as witnessed to by the corporate consciousness of the Church, and the council of bishops has its authority only as expressing that consciousness.

A further question arises as to the relation of the unity of the Church to questions of uniformity. Here the tradition of the Church has always been one of freedom. For long the Churches of Asia and of the West differed as to

the rule of keeping Easter, and much feeling arose when Victor of Rome attempted to excommunicate those churches which differed from his usage.[1] Each church had its own creed, its own liturgy, and its own canons. Cyprian emphasizes the freedom of the individual community. On the serious question of allowing penance for adultery he tells us that it had been recognized that each church might preserve its own custom,[2] and later, on the rebaptism of heretics, he says that each bishop is to do what he thinks right. He is not going to break the unity of the Church for any heretic, and this assertion of his received the approbation at a later date of St. Augustine.[3] This has always been theoretically the rule of the Church. No decree of any Council has authority until it has been promulgated by each bishop in his diocese and received there. If he does not do so, or the diocese does not accept the decree, the remedy is excommunication. But excommunication which breaks the unity of the Church should only proceed in grave matters of faith.

But the tendency of Christian development has always been towards greater uniformity, a uniformity which has ultimately become excessive and been a fruitful cause of disunion, and it will be advantageous to consider how this arose.

In the first place it came from the opposition between orthodoxy and heresy. When a great movement arose, which was felt inadequately to represent Christian tradition, like Arianism, the inconvenience of many separate creeds and the value of a common standard became apparent. There must be a fundamental unity of belief. But a tendency to insist on uniformity of expression and opinion would grow, orthodoxy ultimately would become a sub-

[1] See especially the document quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, v. 24.

[2] Cyp., *Ep.* lv. 21, "Manente concordiae uinculo et perseuerante catholicae ecclesiae indiuiduo sacramento, *actum suum disponit et dirigit unusquisque episcopus rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus.*"

[3] Cyp., *Ep.* lxxiii. 26, "Haec tibi breuibus pro nostra mediocritate rescripsimus, frater carissime, nemini praescribentes aut praeiudicantes quo minus unusquisque episcoporum quod putat faciat, *habens arbitrii sui liberam potestatem.* Nos, quantum in nobis, est, propter haereticos cum collegis et coepiscopis nostris non contendimus, cum quibus diuinam concordiam et dominicam pacem tenemus."

stitute for faith instead of the expression of faith, and what was originally intended to promote union would become a fruitful source of disunion.

Then, secondly, there are obvious practical advantages in uniformity of custom. It is certainly convenient when people move from one place to another that they should find a Christian service in which they are at home. It is not convenient if the rules of marriage and divorce differ from place to place, or if an adulterer can in one place be readmitted to communion, in another is condemned to remain outside the Church the rest of his life. The advantages of some uniformity are obvious, but ultimately the tendency to rigid centralization destroys the life of the whole body, and often causes far-reaching schism.

A third incentive to uniformity is the action of the State. The law-maker does not like exceptions. He wishes to reduce everything to one model. He would fit mankind into the framework that he constructs. From the time of Constantine onwards this force was working in the Christian Church, partly perhaps with good, partly with evil effects. It became particularly conspicuous in the Byzantine Empire, where its twofold results may be observed. On the one side it created that homogeneous system of life and faith and Church order which we now know as the Orthodox Eastern Church; on the other side it was reaction from Byzantine rule as much as doctrinal differences which created the Nestorian and Jacobite heresies. The peoples of the East could not be cast in the same mould as the Greek.[1]

[1] In the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xx., No. 8, July, 1919, p. 357, will be found a review by Professor Vernon Bartlet of *The Early History of the Church and the Ministry*, and especially of Dr. Mason's Essay on the Church. He tries to distinguish between the Church as the spiritual Israel, and the quasi-legal conception of Catholicism. The distinction seems to me one which it is impossible to make. The whole idea of rule and order was inherent in the Church because it was the New Israel. The New Israel must have its rules and external fabric as much as the old, if it is to live in the world. The visible Church is the same throughout, and Catholicism is only the name given to that system of order which did enable and does enable the Church to attain unity and universality. What really underlies his criticism is that as time went on rule and order became excessive and rigid and defeated the aim with which it was created.

If we try to emphasize generally the position and authority of the bishop in the Church it will, I think, become apparent that there are two theories, the antagonism of which is only partly apparent. The normal, traditional, and healthy theory was that the authority lay in the Church, and the bishop was the minister of its corporate action. But the exigencies of controversy, the demand for effective action, the desire for uniformity alike would lead to stress being laid on the bishop's independent action. He would claim and be conceded the position of ruler rather than minister, and an authority which might act beneficially for a time would ultimately destroy the spontaneous life of the community.

IV

On what did the authority of the bishops, or of the bishops and clergy, depend? We enter now on a difficult and controversial question. It is often said that the authority of bishops lay in the fact that they possessed the Apostolical Succession. It is necessary first of all to examine this statement and consider how far it is valid.[1]

Now there can be no doubt that the bishop was looked upon as successor of the Apostles, and that the Apostolic Succession of the great sees was emphasized from an early period; but the exact meaning and implication of these facts is not so clear.

The germs of the idea are present in Clement of Rome,[2]

[1] The views on the Apostolic Succession contained in this lecture were first put forward by myself in *The Prayer-Book Dictionary* (London, Putnam's Sons, 1912), pp. 38–43, and I am pleased to find that the conclusions that I there arrived at have been corroborated independently by my friend Mr. C. H. Turner in the essay already alluded to, published in *The Early History of the Church and the Ministry*. The best exposition of the commonly received opinions is that by Bishop Gore in *The Church and the Ministry* (new edition, 1919).

[2] The exact conception of Clement of Rome is difficult to arrive at. His main statement is that "the Apostles received the Gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ was sent forth from God. So then Christ is from God, and the Apostles are from Christ." (See the whole passage quoted above, p. 100.) The bishops had been appointed by the Apostles and owed their authority to that appointment. The message also that they gave they had received from God through Christ, but there is nothing said which suggests either that spiritual gifts or authority came by transmission. These ideas have been read into the passage.

but it is after the middle of the second century that the importance of the succession of bishops in the great sees is emphasized. It is in the writings of Hippolytus, and still more of Cyprian, that we find stress laid on the authority and spiritual dignity of the bishops as representatives of the Apostles. The idea of succession and its importance in this early sense is dwelt on in Eusebius, but it becomes of much less importance in the fourth century; there is very little said about it in St. Augustine, nor is it found in the collections of mystical writings that bear the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, which exalt the spiritual character of the Christian ministry so highly.

But when we come to examine the meaning of the expression we shall find that it has been used in three different significations, and it is necessary to distinguish these carefully. We shall find that the earlier meaning differed markedly from that which has prevailed in later times.

1. The importance of this succession of bishops was made apparent in the controversy with the Gnostic heretics which was one of the most striking features of the second century. The Gnostics claimed to teach a more profound Christian doctrine, and asserted that they had received it by a secret tradition from the Apostles. To meet this claim Irenaeus and other theologians appealed to the open tradition of the great churches. It was no secret, unknown succession of obscure teachers that had handed on the true Apostolic tradition, but the open succession of well-known bishops. In Rome, in Asia, at Antioch, at Jerusalem, as in other cities, there were churches founded by Apostles, and in these there had been since their days a continuous succession of bishops, publicly appointed to their office. These had handed on the true tradition of Christianity, its Scriptures, its faith, its rules of life, and its Church order. Bishop had succeeded bishop. Each had followed the doctrine of his predecessor. This open tradition was a strong testimony to the truth of their teaching. The argument is a valid one, although it ought not to be pressed too far, for all oral tradition, and even much written tradition, changes subtly and unobserved. But as all these sees might claim to have handed down the same records, to

have taught the same Christianity, their combined witness is strong. Other churches which could not claim an Apostolic founder had received the Gospel from Apostolic churches, and so they, too, preserved the Apostolic succession.[1]

The argument was one which historically had a good foundation. Even if there had been some changes in the character of the ministry there was no doubt there had been a succession of officials in the churches. It was a fact also of real value. It is an admirable instance of the manner in which the Christian society helped to preserve the Christian Gospel. But we must be quite clear what it implies and what it does not. It implies no more than a succession of rulers, each lawfully appointed to his office, or a succession of teachers in a school. It does not imply any succession by ordination. The bishop was properly ordained, no doubt. The meaning of that we shall consider later, but there is no idea that the validity of his ordination depended upon this succession, or that the succession depended upon any spiritual gifts received at ordination. If the manner of appointment to office had been without any religious ceremony the succession for this purpose would have been equally valid. The important point was correct and public appointment to the office.

2. At a somewhat later date the bishops began to be spoken of more directly in their personal capacity as the successors of the Apostles.[2] This meant that they performed the functions of the Apostles. Like them they were the rulers of the Church, they administered its discipline, they were its principal teachers, they preserved and guaranteed the truth of its doctrine, they performed its

[1] The point of view is given with great lucidity in Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 115 *ff.*, who quotes ample illustrations. The main passage is Irenaeus, *Haer.*, III. i.-iv., *cf.* III. iii. 1, "Traditionem itaque Apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam, in omni Ecclesia adest perspicere omnibus qui vera velint videre, et habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis, et successiones eorum usque ad nos."

[2] The earliest instance I believe to be that in Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, Prooemium, *Ταῦτα δὲ ἕτερος οὐκ ἐλέγξει ἢ τὸ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ παραδοθὲν ἅγιον πνεῦμα, οὗ τύχοντες πρότεροι οἱ ἀπόστολοι μετέδοσαν τοῖς ὀρθῶς πεπιστευκόσιν, ὧν ἡμεῖς διάδοχοι τυγχάνοντες τῆς τε αὐτῆς χάριτος μετέχοντες ἀρχιερατείας τε καὶ διδασκαλίας καὶ φρουροὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λελογισμένοι. . . .*

Sacraments, and in particular laid their hands on the faithful in confirmation, in penance, in ordination. Now in this sense also the use of the term is quite normal and in accordance with many analogies. In a succession of kings in any country each one fulfils the functions and inherits the privileges of his predecessor, and these can often be traced back to some historical founder. A similar succession has often existed in a philosophical school. There can be no doubt that in this sense the conception has been held in the Church from the third century onwards.

3. But there is a third signification in which the term Apostolic Succession is used, and to define this I cannot do better than quote the statement made by Bishop Gore. "It was intended that there should be in each generation an authoritative stewardship of the grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ, and a recognized power to transmit it, derived from above by Apostolic descent."[1] This succession is not merely a succession of office, but a succession of ordination. It is believed that those spiritual gifts with which the Church has always considered that its ministers are endowed came from the Apostles by a direct succession or channel. The Apostles transferred the gifts to the first bishops by laying on of hands, and they in turn on those who came after them. Even if, as many would now realize, here, as in all other Sacraments, the gifts come direct from Christ, the coming of the gift is still held to depend upon this fact of transmission. There is a certain amount of ambiguity as to whether it is the gifts of the Spirit or only authority that comes in this way, but what is definitely maintained is that for a valid ministry and the due performance of the Sacraments this succession and transmission by ordination is necessary.[2]

[1] Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 59. The theory is worked out through the whole chapter.

[2] In the following passages Cyprian connects the succession with ordination:

(1) *Ep.* xxxiii. 1, "Inde per temporum et successionum uices episcoporum ordinatio et ecclesiae ratio decurrit ut ecclesia super episcopos constituatur et omnis actus ecclesiae per eosdem praepositos gubernetur." Here the meaning is that each bishop in succession has been properly appointed and ordained and therefore the regular succession has been preserved.

I am not at present proposing to discuss the merits of this theory; what I desire now to put before you is this, that so far as I am able to judge it was not held at all in the early Church. I have, I think, read everything from the Fathers which is quoted in favour of Apostolic Succession, and I do not know any passage which speaks of succession by ordination in this sense. If this statement be correct, the argument from silence becomes, I think, conclusive, because we are not dealing with periods about which we have little information. We have very full knowledge. The explanation of this mistaken view is, I think, this: At some period—it is a little difficult to know when—the idea that valid orders depended upon the succession grew up. With this idea in their minds people turned to the early Fathers. They found constant references to Apostolic Succession, and not unnaturally they interpreted them according to the ideas in their minds. The consequence is that passages are habitually quoted in favour of the modern view which do not really support it at all.

The conclusion, then, that I would put to you is this, that from a period shortly after the middle of the second century, and very probably earlier, the idea was prominent in the Christian Church that there had been a regular succession of bishops in the principal sees since the days of their Apostolic founders. This belief was probably well established, and it was held, and, within certain limits, probably rightly held, that it was strong evidence for the claims of the Catholic Church to teach truly the Christian

(2) *Ep.* lxvi. 4 (*cf.* lxxv. 16), "Qui dicit ad Apostolos ac per hoc ad omnes praepositos qui Apostolis uicaria ordinatione succedunt." The exact meaning of "vicaria ordinatione" is difficult. It appears to mean that others in the place of Apostles have ordained them, or that they have been ordained in the place of the Apostles.

(3) *Ep.* lxix. 5, "Si autem grex unus est, quomodo potest gregi adnumerari qui in numero gregis non est aut pastor haberi quomodo potest qui manente vero pastore et in ecclesia Dei ordinatione succedanea praesidente nemini succedens et a se ipse incipiens alienus fit et profanus?" This brings out very well what Cyprian means by Apostolic Succession. The schismatic bishop he refers to would have been quite validly ordained and had the Apostolic Succession according to modern notions. But he had not taken his place by an orderly ordination in the list of the succession. Cyprian does not mean sacramental transmission but orderly appointment.

tradition. It was further held (our evidence does not go back quite so early) that these same bishops might be looked on as the successors of the Apostles in the sense that they performed the same functions that the Apostles had exercised in their own times. Of any idea, on the other hand, that their spiritual gifts depended upon transmission from the Apostles, or that they in ordination transmitted grace to others which had come to them from the Apostles, there is no evidence at all.

If this is so, the next question that arises is, What was it that constituted a valid, or correct, or regular ordination according to the theory of the early Church? What, in fact, was their doctrine of orders?

Let us first examine an early ordinal—I will take that in the *Apostolical Constitutions*.[1] It is not the earliest, but it is the fullest, and therefore the one in which we should be most likely to find later views. The form of service which is there given is preceded by a treatise on spiritual gifts, and it may be noted that these are defined as the gifts which God has given to man through Christ. They were first given to the Apostles, and then to those who believed through the Apostles, but nothing is said about their being transmitted through the Apostles.[2]

The ordination of a bishop is then described. The first point that is insisted upon is that he must be elected by the people.[3] He is ordained by bishops in the presence of the presbyters and laity, who must bear witness that he is the man that they have chosen, and also that he is of holy and blameless life. Then follows the prayer of consecration. It is addressed to the Almighty, who has given the rules of the Church through the presence of Christ in the flesh, with the witness of the Paraclete, by the hands of the Apostles and of the bishops who are present by His

[1] The best account of the *Apostolical Constitutions* is in Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. i., p. xvii *ff.* See also Maclean, *The Ancient Church Orders.*

[2] *Apostolical Constitutions*, VIII. i. 2 (ed. Funk), *τούτων τῶν χαρισμάτων πρότερον μὲν ἡμῖν δοθέντων τοῖς ἀποστόλοις μέλλουσιν "τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλειν πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει," ἔπειτα τοῖς δι' ἡμῶν πιστεύσασιν ἀναγκαίως χορηγουμένων.*

[3] *Ib.*, VIII. iv. 2, *ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκλελεγμένον.*

grace.[1] From the beginning God had ordained priests for the government of His people.

> "Do thou now on the intercession of thy Christ through us pour forth the power of thy ruling Spirit, which ministers to thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, which he gave according to thy will to the holy Apostles of thee the eternal God.[2] Grant in thy name, O God that searcheth the hearts of men, to this thy servant whom thou hast chosen to be a bishop, to feed thy holy flock, to perform the office of an high priest, blamelessly ministering night and day and propitiating thy presence, to gather together the number of the saved and offer the gifts of thy holy church. Grant to him, Almighty Lord, through thy Christ, to share in thy holy Spirit, so that he may have power to forgive sins according to thy command, to ordain clergy according to thine ordinance, to loose every yoke according to the power which thou gavest to thy Apostles, to be pleasing to thee in meekness and a pure heart, without wavering, free from all reproach, blamelessly, offering to thee the pure and unbloody sacrifice which thou ordainedst through Christ, the mystery of the New Covenant, for a sweet savour through thy holy child Jesus."

Now we notice in this prayer that the Almighty is asked to give to the bishop to be ordained the same Spirit that He gave to the Apostles, and through the Spirit will come the power to perform the same spiritual functions as the Apostles, and in particular to ordain ministers, but nothing is said about the giving the Spirit through the Apostles, nor is there any idea of transmission, and this is made the more pointed by the reference to the rules of the Church. These had come from God through Christ and His Spirit, and particular reference is made to the work of the Apostles

[1] *Apostolical Constitutions*, VIII. v. 3, *σὺ ὁ δοὺς ὅρους ἐκκλησίας διὰ τῆς ἐνσάρκου παρουσίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῷ παρακλήτῳ διὰ τῶν σῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν χάριτι σῇ παρεστώτων ἐπισκόπων.*

[2] *Ib.*, VIII. v. 5, *αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν μεσιτείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου δι' ἡμῶν ἐπίχεε τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ "ἡγεμονικοῦ σου πνεύματος," ὅπερ διακονεῖται τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ σου παιδὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὅπερ ἐδωρήσατο γνώμῃ σου τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις σου τοῦ αἰωνίου Θεοῦ.*

and the bishops. There is a reference to tradition, but it is the tradition of the teaching and ordinances of the Church, which had come through the Apostles and bishops.

The essentials of a valid ordination were that it should be performed as the Church had ordained. The ordinances of the Church were believed to have been laid down by the Apostles, and it is obedience to the Apostolic ordinances and not transmission of grace that is emphasized. There is no hint of transmission. The spiritual gifts come as the direct gift of God in answer to the prayers of the Church.

The following appear to be the principles involved in the due performance of ordination.

In the first place, it was generally believed that it should be performed in the Church. The Church was the home of the Spirit. In the Church the gifts of the Spirit were given. Through the Church came the power to give those gifts. How this theory came to be modified we shall see in the next lecture.

Then secondly, the rite must be performed in the way that the Church had ordained. The rules of the Church were based on the commands of the Lord, so far as they were known, the customs of the Apostles—it was generally believed that the customs of each church were of Apostolic origin—and the regulations made by the Church. As a matter of fact, the Church always assumes the power of laying down regulations, even conflicting with tradition, and makes any change that the needs of the times require.

Thirdly, the rite must be performed by the duly appointed minister who had received authority for the purpose. That means in general the bishop. It was the bishop, however, not because there was anything magical in his office or because he had received spiritual power by transmission from the Apostles, but because the Church had so ordered it, and he had been consecrated for that purpose. There are a considerable number of instances quoted of ordination by other than bishops.[1] None of them are conclusive,

[1] The following are the instances quoted:
(1) The appointment of the Bishops of Alexandria (see above, p. 102).
(2) The Canon of Ancyra, c. 14; but here the difficulty is complicated by the great uncertainty of the reading. I am not at all

but there are, I think, signs that the rule had not been always rigidly or universally observed. At one period in the Church, for example, a confessor might become a priest without any ordination.[1] The Church could, by its authority, recognize special gifts. The variations in custom are a sufficient sign that the authority and power of a bishop in ordaining depended, not on anything inherent in his office, but on the commission that he had received from the Church and the gift of the Spirit given him in answer to the prayers of the Church at his consecration.

Fourthly, it must not, I think, be overlooked, how important a part rightful election played in the validity of a bishop's position. When Cyprian writes to emphasize the rightful authority of Cornelius and the sin of schismatic opposition to him, it is the correct character of his election to which he refers. Cornelius had been appointed bishop by the judgement of God and the testimony of his fellow-bishops. He had passed through every ecclesiastical grade. He had

convinced by Mr. Turner's essay (Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 327), but I do not know what is right.

(3) The case of Paphnutius (see Hatch, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 110, and Gore, *op. cit.*, p. 332).

For further instances see Hatch, *op. cit.*, p. 110. There is no doubt that all these cases are doubtful. Either the evidence is inconclusive or the readings vary. The important point is to recognize that the question whether anyone could ordain or not was really looked upon as a question of ecclesiastical rule. *Apostolical Constitutions*, III. xi., *οὐκ ἐπιτρέπομεν δὲ πρεσβυτέροις χειροτονεῖν διακόνους ἢ διακονίσσας, κ.τ.α., ἀλλὰ μόνοις τοῖς ἐπισκόποις· αὐτη γάρ ἐστι τάξις ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ ἁρμονία.*

[1] See the Canons of Hippolytus, vi. 43–47 (ed. Achelis, p. 67), about confessors: "Quando quis dignus est, qui stet coram tribunali propter fidem et afficiatur poena propter Christum, postea autem indulgentia liber dimittitur, talis postea meretur gradum presbyteralem, non secundum ordinationem, quae fit ab episcopo. Immo confessio est ordinatio eius. Quod si vero episcopus fit ordinetur. Si quis confessione emissa tormentis laesus non est dignus est presbyteratu; attamen ordinetur per episcopum. Si talis cum servus alicuius esset, propter Christum cruciatus pertulit, talis similiter est presbyter gregi. Quanquam enim formam presbyteratus non acceperit, tamen spiritum presbyteratus adeptus est: episcopus igitur omittet orationis partem, quae ad spiritum sanctum pertinet."

We are not, of course, aware of the extent to which this rule prevailed or in what part of the Church. The regulations in other forms of the Church Orders vary considerably. But it may be doubted whether the possibility of such a theory being held does not imply a conception of ordination different from that held in modern times.

been consecrated by many bishops. He had received the testimony of nearly all the clergy, and the vote of all the people then present, and the consent of the bishops present. He had been ordained in the Church, and he who does not preserve the unity of the Church has no true ordination.[1]

The theology that lay behind the rules of the Church was that the work of the Church is the work of God; that He, in answer to the prayers of the Church, gives His Spirit. Ordination was sacramental. It had been so from the beginning; but the nature of a sacrament is shewn when we realize that the essential of ordination always has been prayer with the laying on of hands. God answers the prayers of His Church. The Church orders the proper method of approaching Him.

V

We may now sum up the conclusion of our argument.

We have described and analyzed the Catholic Church as it appeared in the early centuries of the Christian era. Our first question is, What is the origin of that society, of its organization, its rules, and its ministry? There have been two opposing theories about it which we must reject.

The one which prevailed in the early Church ascribed not only the origin but also the form of the society, even down to minute features, to the work of the Apostles. They, it was believed, had laid down the regulations by which it was governed and had established the ministry through which it was maintained. In any complete sense this belief was unfounded. It was indeed true, as we shall emphasize, that there was a continuous development from Apostolic times, and that the root and origin of the whole conception lay in the Apostolic teaching, but that was all. The documents on which the belief rested were in all cases late and apocryphal. They embodied the customs and ideals of the times when they were written. They vary considerably from one another. Each generation, by a

[1] Cyp., *Ep.* lv. 8, "Nec habeat ecclesiasticam ordinationem qui ecclesiae non tenet unitatem." See also *Ep.* lxvii. 4, "Ordinatio iusta et legitima quae omnium suffragio et iudicio fuerit examinata."

natural habit of the human mind, ascribed the Church as he conceived it to its Apostolic founders. But these conceptions were not historical. The organization of the Catholic Church was not based on specific Apostolic rule.

An alternative theory is one which is presented by various German writers, and has been adopted to a certain extent in England.[1] It would hold that the Catholic Church presented to us in the third and fourth centuries was not a development, but a perversion of primitive Christianity, that it was a contamination of the Gospel teaching. It was Christianity transformed under the influence of the Hellenic idea. The whole of this development should be discarded.

If the argument of my first two lectures be correct, this theory also must be condemned as unsound. The Catholic Christianity of the fourth century represents the development of the fundamental ideas of Christ and of the Apostolic Church in a manner adapted to the Hellenic world of the day. Christ, as we have held, created the Church as a visible society. He instituted ministry and sacraments. He gave authority for legislation and discipline. These principles the Church adapted to the needs of the day. Undoubtedly Hellenic influence came in. But it came in as a principle of development, not of perversion. Christianity, as the religion for all men, has adopted freely the thought of each age, responded to the needs of each time, and has learnt the fuller meaning of its message by the assistance of each epoch in human progress. Catholicism was a development, but a development of Gospel elements. The Church was potentially Catholic from the beginning; it has not yet attained a full or complete Catholicity.

The creative force thus during all this period lay in the Church itself, inspired by the Spirit, exercising the authority and power with which it had been entrusted. The beginning was the conditions of the Apostolic age, a church governed by a body of presbyters with a chairman. Starting from this monepiscopacy was quickly and early developed. Then after the Apostles had passed away

[1] See particularly the articles by Schmiedel in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*; Rudolph Sohm, *Kirchenrecht* (Leipzig, 1892); Harnack, *Constitution and Law of the Church* (E.T., London, 1910).

and the first great missionary impulse had ceased, the bishops took their place as the force which welded the Church together, and represented the corporate authority of the whole body. In the Apostolic period appointment to office was by prayer and laying on of hands, performed in the name of the Church by its properly appointed ministers. This principle the Church inherited, and starting from an Apostolic rule built up the custom of episcopal ordination; although the process and stages of the development we are unable to trace. So in a similar way other usages of the Apostolic Church developed.

And this authority does not in any of its manifestations claim any infallibility. What impresses us is the great variety of rule and custom. Again and again documents and theologians, speaking in the name of the Church, lay down rules inconsistent with existing usage. Two instances may be mentioned: the recognition of heretical baptism or orders, and the status given to confessors. On both the policy of the Church showed remarkable variations; it was long before a decision was obtained, and then it did not present much appearance of finality. The *Apostolical Canons*, for example, lay down "that those who are either baptized or ordained by heretics can be neither Christians nor clergymen."[1] This opinion has no real weight, but it was widely held after conciliar authority had decided otherwise. So as regards confessors, the Church Orders which represent the usage of different churches at different times present many regulations inconsistent with one another. Sometimes confessors are to be admitted to the presbyterate without ordination, sometimes they are to be ordained.

To what extent variations in custom or changes in policy extended may be doubtful. What is important to notice is that, although the customs of the Church were believed to be of Apostolic origin, the principle was always held or, at any rate, acted on that it was the business of the Church to declare what was the Apostolic custom, and this it did with great boldness. The ultimate principle really was the well-being of the society. This naturally led to the building up of a dignified system of Church order, but also to the

[1] *Apostolic Canons*, 68.

recognition of the fact that its rules existed for the Church, and not the Church for its rules. So the Catholic Church always at that time exhibited a wise absence of rigidity. Excessive rigidity was the tendency of heretical bodies. The Church of Rome in those days, in marked contrast to its later attitude, administered the rules of the Church with moderation and wisdom. So also, as we shall see, did St. Augustine; so also, except in relation to the rebaptism of heretics, did Cyprian. But Tertullian, Hippolytus, Novatian, Lucifer of Cagliari, the Donatists are alike in demanding rigid rules and unhumane discipline such as, if widely imposed, would have entirely prevented the Church from being Catholic.

The fundamental principle which seems to emerge is that, whether we look at the process of development or the source of its spiritual ministrations, it is the Church which is supreme. A baptism is valid because it is the Baptism of the Church, whether administered within or outside; the authority of a bishop comes to him because it is conferred by the Church and even if he cease to be within the Church he can still perform episcopal functions because he does not lose what the Church has given him. It is to the Catholic Church that the Spirit has been given, and therefore within the Church alone are all the gifts and blessings, sacramental and other, that the Spirit gives.

In a fine passage of his *Apologia* Cardinal Newman describes the way in which the primitive Church stirred his imagination:

> "With the Establishment thus divided and threatened, thus ignorant of its true strength, I compared that fresh vigorous Power of which I was reading in the first centuries. In her triumphant zeal on behalf of that Primeval Mystery, to which I had had so great a devotion from my youth, I recognized the movement of my Spiritual Mother. 'Incessu patuit Dea.' The self-conquest of her Ascetics, the patience of her Martyrs, the irresistible determination of her Bishops, the joyous swing of her advance, both exalted and abashed me."[1]

[1] Newman, *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (ed. 1885), p. 31.

His witness is true. The Church in her first ages exhibited a swing and an advance which has not always appeared since. There was a boldness and a confidence in her movements, a power of adapting herself to any circumstances, however novel. And I think that one secret of her power was that, though always true to her traditions, she never allowed the dead hand of the past to spoil the freedom of her action. We have always a double relation to the past. We have to preserve the authority of tradition, and I do not think that we can ever realize the greatness of the debt that we owe to the Oxford Tractarians, and above all to Newman, for restoring to the Christian Church—not only to the Church of England, but also to the Nonconformists, indeed to the Roman Church itself, which, under the influence of the Jesuits, had lost much of its historical sense—that sense of historical continuity which is the true meaning of Apostolical succession, the recognition of the fact that in all ages God's Spirit has taught the Church and is leading us into all truth, that we should always be guarded and instructed by the authority and experience of past generations of Christians. There is no limit, I think, to the debt that we owe to those who thus restored to us this sense of the continuity and tradition of the Church.

But we have not only to link ourselves with the past by using its teaching, but by learning its spirit—its spirit of boldness and confidence, the spirit which taught it always to adapt itself to new situations and deal with new crises. It was loyal to the past, but it never allowed itself to be controlled by it. It is the absence of this spirit which in later days in great crises of the Church prevented it from meeting a new situation, and became the fruitful cause of dissension and disunion.

It is just this same boldness, this courage to take a new departure, not at variance with, but in continuity with, the past, that is necessary for us at the present day if we are to seize the opportunity that lies before us.

LECTURE IV

THE TEACHING OF ST. AUGUSTINE

"*Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.*"—EPH. iv. 3.

St. Augustine. His ignorance of Greek. Effect on his theology. His doctrine of the Church. Its source. The influence of Cyprian. His own personality. The Donatist controversy.

The authority of the Church. The home of Christian charity. The Church the Kingdom of God. The Church the home of salvation. Inconsistencies in St. Augustine's teaching.

His arguments against the Donatists. The unity of the Church. Use of the argument by Cardinal Wiseman. The purity of the Church. St. Augustine's doctrine of the ideal Church. The question of rebaptism, and the nature of the Sacraments. Re-ordination.

The nature of the Christian ministry. The Apostolical Succession. The ministry and the Church. The *character indelibilis*. The source both of evangelical and sacerdotal conceptions.

St. Augustine and the persecution of heretics. The custom of the times. The Circumcelliones. His early opinions. The cause of the change. His tendency to mitigate persecution. Harmful results of his teaching.

The authority of the Church and infallibility. No bishop or Council infallible. The Church of Rome. St. Peter not infallible. The Church of Rome no power to dictate to other churches. Africa and appeals to Rome. The authority of Christian tradition. Unauthorized customs harmful. St. Augustine's mediation.

Conclusion. Deductions from St. Augustine's teaching. His conception of the Church. The ideal and the visible. Purity. Truth. Unity. The ministry and Sacraments. The revision of the traditional theory. The Church and Christian charity.

ST. AUGUSTINE[1] in his Confessions asks the question why as a boy he hated Greek, and gives as an answer—the sinfulness and vanity of life. He was ready enough to read the

[1] By far the best account of St. Augustine in English that I am acquainted with is that by Bp. Robertson in Murray's *Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature*, p. 70, who gives a sufficient bibliography. For his doctrine on the Church see the same writer's *Regnum Dei;* Reuter, *Augustinische Studien;* Harnack, *History of Doctrine*, E.T., vol. v., pp. 140-168. Two useful modern books are *The Letters of St. Augustine*, by Dr. Sparrow-Simpson, and *Studies in the Confessions of St. Augustine*, by Dr. Ottley.

seductive stories of mythology, but from the drudgery of grammar he revolted.[1] The remorse of St. Augustine raises an interesting subject of discussion, What might have been the development of Western Christendom if he had known Greek and had a Greek training? To him Western Christendom has owed some of its best and some of its least attractive features, and as we read the writings of this intense African, profoundly imbued with Latin culture, but learning his Greek philosophy and theology, history and literature, through the medium of translations, with no touch of the Greek spirit, we cannot fail to be conscious of his defects. We admire his brilliant dialectic, his subtle logic, his overflowing eloquence. But his logic is his master and not his servant. He has no humanism to correct the over-subtlety of his speculations. He often fails to understand the difference between the real and the rhetorical argument. No taste restrains the over-emphasis of his style or corrects the bitter invective into which he cannot help falling. He has too little of the ἐπιείκεια, of the sweet 'reasonableness' that he might have learnt from Plato, which would have made his arguments and his eloquence so much more convincing, which would have checked his over-emphasis and repetitions and prevented his tediousness.

And as with his style, so with his teaching. How different it would have been had it corrected the fieriness of the African tradition by the writings of Greek theologians. It might have helped to prevent that marked divergence in tone and temperament, which has caused such a deep division between Eastern and Western Christendom. It might have corrected the hardness of his thought. Sometimes it seems as if he knows no compassion and will make

[1] *Confess.*, I. xiii. xiv., "Quid autem erat causae, cur graecas litteras oderam, quibus puerulus imbuebar, ne nunc quidem mihi satis exploratum est . . . unde tamen et hoc nisi de peccato et vanitate vitae, qua caro eram et spiritus ambulans et non revertens?" (See also *Contra Litteras Petiliani* ii., § 91; *De Trinitate* iii., § 1.) It is only right to add that some writers, like Reuter (*op. cit.*, p. 170), are of opinion that St. Augustine, here and elsewhere, has exaggerated his ignorance. Whether that be so or not I have not sufficient knowledge to say, but I do not find much influence of Greek in his writings; and he learnt his Neo-platonism from the translations of Victorinus Afer.

no concession. It might have checked the tendency to over-statement. He cannot refrain from stating his propositions in their most rigid form. He fails to see the necessity of reconciling two extreme and inconsistent positions. So he becomes the parent of the Schoolman and the Calvinist, of extreme protestantism, of extreme sacramentalism, of extreme sacerdotalism, of papalism. Yet his aim was to regulate his life and polity on the basis of Christian charity. The source of his greatness was his real and intense Christianity: the source of his defects his absence of humanism.

But to-day our purpose is to discuss, not his general position, but his doctrine of the Church, and with that we must now start.

I

St. Augustine's theory of the Church was a product of three main influences. It was in its origin based upon the Western doctrine as it had been formulated by Cyprian, a strong, coherent, narrow theory, the work of an able statesman and organizer, who would never allow the weakness of human nature, or we may add Christian charity, to restrain either the coherence of his logic or the severity of his discipline. The importance of Cyprian's writings lay in the fact that they were not only the source from which Augustine had learnt his own doctrine, but were the recognized authority, certainly of the whole African Church, and probably of the larger part of Western Christendom. The Donatists in particular claimed to be (as indeed in many respects they were) the true disciples of the great African bishop, and a large part of Augustine's controversial writings against them is devoted to shewing that in reality Cyprian's authority is on his side. Cyprian had always formulated his doctrine with a rigidity which is attractive to a certain type of mind, and Augustine (whose nature was very different) was continually, although hardly consciously, revolting from it.

So, in the second place, we find the theory of Cyprian modified by St. Augustine's personal characteristics, by his theology, and his character. His doctrine of Grace, when

worked out to its logical conclusion, was certainly inconsistent with a purely ecclesiastical theory.[1] There were other elements, too, which influenced him. Unlike Cyprian, St. Augustine took no real interest in administrative questions. He was a theologian, not a statesman. He looked on the world from the point of view of a philosopher. His platonism, although less conspicuous in later life, never passed away, and we have always to read his theories on the assumption which is underlying them, that whatever appears in the world is only an imperfect copy of the reality. His doctrine of God was always trying to break down the narrow views which the current ecclesiastical system implied, and Christian charity, to him the true essence of the Gospel, although working, as it so often does, in a strangely inconsistent way, was a real force. All these elements were potent influences in transforming the current African theology.

A third main influence was the Donatist schism, which created conditions different from those which had prevailed in the time of Cyprian, and had a curious and far-reaching influence in modifying the theology of the Church.[2] The characteristics of this schism must occupy us a few moments. Its origin goes back to the time of the great persecution. On the death of Mensurius, who had been Bishop of Carthage during that period, he was succeeded in the year A.D. 311 by his archdeacon Caecilian. Caecilian had made himself conspicuous by restraining the extravagant devotion which was shewn to those who had been, or claimed to have been, martyrs, and his appointment roused great opposition. Amongst the bishops who had taken part in his ordination was Felix of Aptunga, who was accused of having been a *traditor*—that is, one who had given up copies of the Scriptures to the authorities in order that they might be

[1] See Robertson, *Regnum Dei*, p. 187.

[2] Of the Donatists there is a very full account *sub voce* in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. i., p. 881, where further references are given. We suffer here as elsewhere in Christian history by having no account of the schismatical body from their own side, but there seems enough to convince us that the Donatist position, however plausible, was really impossible, and that, whatever were the defects of the other side, Donatism exhibited in a remarkable way all the evils of sectarianism.

destroyed. This was made an excuse for objecting to the validity of Caecilian's appointment, and his opponents proceeded to elect a rival bishop. The first of these schismatic prelates was a man of little importance, but he was succeeded by Donatus, called by his friends the "Great," who proved a strong and able leader and gave his name to the sect.

The new schism spread widely throughout Africa, and created a situation particularly annoying to the Emperor Constantine, who had hoped to find in the united Christian Church a strong support of his government. The matters in dispute between the two parties were first of all referred to a Council at Rome, held in 313 under the Bishop Miltiades, then to the Council of Arles in 314; then, when the Donatists were still unsatisfied, and appealed to the civil power, they were tried before Constantine in person. On all occasions Caecilian and Felix were acquitted of the charges made against them. But this had no influence on their opponents, who became the more confirmed and embittered in their opposition, and then Constantine had recourse to the fatal weapon of persecution, a persecution which did more than anything else to fan the flames of revolt. Donatism became the dominant creed of Africa. We hear on one occasion of a Council of 310 bishops. It persisted for more than a century, in spite of a logical position which was untenable, of the persecutions to which it was exposed, and of its own intestine dissensions and divisions.

We cannot follow the unattractive story of its history, and of the treatment it received, but there are certain points with regard to it which must be noticed. In the first place, it was clearly a schism and not a heresy. On every point of the Catholic faith the Donatists were orthodox. On every point of Church organization they were one with the Catholic party. They had the same hierarchy and the same sacraments.[1]

Secondly, the point on which the Donatists parted was ostensibly that of the purity of the Church. It must be a church which was purged of all sinners. There must be no place in it for the adulterer or the apostate. If they were

[1] *Epist.* lxi. 2.

there it became contaminated. So they held that sacraments became null if they were performed by anyone on whose character there was a moral stain. If a bishop, or even his consecrator, had been guilty of the mild form of apostasy implied in handing over Christian documents to the state, not only did he cease to be in any real way a member of the Church, but also no one whom he consecrated, and no one with whom he communicated, could be looked upon as such. Consequently, the whole Catholic Church in Africa had, through the sin of Felix, the consecrator of Caecilian, ceased to be the Church at all, and not only the Church in Africa, but the Church in the rest of the world which communicated with the Catholic Church of Africa.

The third point resulting from this was that in no case could the baptism or orders of heretics or schismatics be looked upon as valid. So the Donatist party rebaptized and reordained everyone who came over to them from the Catholic Church, and considered that the buildings of the Catholics were polluted and required purification before they could use them.

There was a fourth characteristic of Donatism, which serves to reveal to us the underlying cause of the schism and the reason why it was so widespread. There arose an extreme section of the sect—fanatics who bore the name of Circumcelliones. These exhibited an equal disregard for their own lives and the lives of others. They wandered about the country attacking pagan temples in order that they might suffer martyrdom or shewing their orthodox zeal by murdering members of the Catholic party and plundering their houses and churches. The temper thus exhibited is significant. It suggests the real nature of the whole movement. It was the revolt of the African temper against the Roman government: the one appearing under the guise of the orthodox and Catholic Church, oecumenical but unsympathetic; the other as an irrational but popular religious movement. We find a similar tendency in other parts of the Christian world. The Latin and Greek Churches came to be the embodiment of the centralized imperial government. Egypt, Syria, Africa, strove to attain national independence under the guise of schism or

heresy, and all the efforts of the emperors at suppression only increased the popular devotion.

The combating of Donatism, and the restoration of Christian unity, were the chief aim of the early years of Augustine's episcopate, and in his efforts to attain this end he profoundly modified the accepted conceptions of church order.

II

The doctrine of the Church was a fundamental point in St. Augustine's creed, and it is important for us to grasp what it means for him. Let us start with the famous statement that he made in one of his earlier works, that he would not have believed in the Gospel unless the authority of the Catholic Church had moved him.[1] In the same treatise he defines for us more exactly what this authority was. What had impressed him, and had been one of the strong motive influences to his conversion, had been the spectacle of the Christian Church as a great spiritual force, its miracles, its Christian hope, its charity, its antiquity, the long tradition of the apostolic see with its succession uninterrupted from St. Peter to the present bishop, the idea of Catholicity—that is, of the one Church throughout the world, in contrast to the local heresies—the bonds of faith and brotherhood, which united peoples and nations together everywhere.[2] Here there was a real spiritual force different from anything else that he knew. It was a visible society,

[1] *Cont. Epist. Fund.* 6, "Ego vero Evangelio non crederem nisi me Catholicae Ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas."

[2] *Cont. Epist. Fund.* 5, "In catholica Ecclesia . . . tenet consensio populorum atque gentium: tenet auctoritas miraculis inchoata, spe nutrita, caritate aucta, vetustate firmata: tenet ab ipsa sede Petri apostoli, cui pascendas oves suas post resurrectionem Dominus commendavit, usque ad praesentem episcopatum successio sacerdotum: tenet postremo ipsum Catholicae nomen, quod non sine caussa inter tam multas haereses sic ista Ecclesia sola obtinuit, ut cum omnes haeretici se catholicos dici velint, quaerenti tamen peregrino alicui, ubi ad Catholicam conveniatur, nullus haereticorum vel basilicam suam vel domum audeat ostendere. Ista ergo tot et tanta nominis Christiani carissima vincula recte hominem tenent credentem in Catholica Ecclesia, etiam si propter nostrae intelligentiae tarditatem vel vitae meritum veritas nondum se apertissime ostendat."

exhibiting truth and faith and charity. It was not in any special way its organization that attracted him. He does not consider it to be an infallible body: he definitely, as we shall see, combats such an idea. It was the city of God, the visible representative of Christ on earth.

This society had certain special and important characteristics. It was, in the first place, the home, the embodiment of Christian charity. Christian unity means Christian charity. Outside the Church there is no charity; no one can possess it unless he loves unity. This is an unfailing argument of St. Augustine against the Donatists. They are able to have everything else in Christianity but this. They have true sacraments, they may exhibit the most heroic Christian virtues, yet because they have not charity, as St. Paul himself teaches, it profiteth them nothing. Because this excellent gift is only found in the Christian Church, there is no salvation for those outside it.[1]

This argument is hardly one which appeals to us. It seems to us the antithesis of everything which we mean by charity. If we analyze it, it is something like the following. The Christian Church represents a real effort at binding together peoples of different races and countries in a higher and more spiritual union. This was a matter both of observation and of experience. In his letters St. Augustine often dwells on the spiritual union he can feel with those whom he has never seen. "We are members of one body, having one Head, enjoying the effusion of the same grace,

[1] *Contra Cresconium* i. 34. "Non autem existimo ita quemquam desipere, ut credat ad ecclesiae pertinere unitatem eum qui non habet caritatem." He then goes on to argue that God, faith, baptism, all exist outside the Church, but there they are without charity. They exist outside the Church: only in the Church, where they are united with charity, have they any healthy effect.

De Bapt. i. 14. Separata est enim a uinculo caritatis et pacis, sed iuncta est in uno baptismate.

Ibid. i. 10. Caritate uiolata unitatis uinculum rumpunt.

Ibid. i. 12. Those who are separated neque studentes seruare unitatem spiritus in uinculo pacis, caritatem utique non habendo . . . ad aeternam salutem peruenire non possunt.

Ibid. iii. 21. Non autem habet Dei caritatem, qui Ecclesiae non diligit unitatem.

Contra Litteras Petiliani ii. 172. Caritas christiana nisi in unitate Ecclesiae non potest custodiri,.

Sermo cclxv. 11. Caritas ista non tenetur nisi in unitate Ecclesiae.

living by the same bread, walking in the same path, and dwelling in the same house. In short, in all that makes up our being, in the whole faith and hope by which we stand in the present life, in labour for that which is to come, we are, both in the spirit and in the body, so united that if we fall from this union we shall cease to be."[1]

On the other hand, the Donatists appeared to represent the most extravagant form of the sectarian temper which was the exact antithesis of this. As schismatics, they had broken just that bond of union which bound all Christians together. How, then, it might be asked, could they have charity, or love, or brotherhood? They had destroyed the possibility of it. All schism seemed to make it impossible. And they shewed this. They would have no dealings with anyone not of their own body. They were ready to anathematize the whole Catholic Church everywhere in the world. They refused to recognize either its sacraments or its orders. It is undoubtedly true that all schism among Christians is a breach of charity—although often both sides are to blame —and St. Augustine, in his dealings with the Donatists, exhibited much more than they of the Christian spirit; but it shews the limitations which are the constant conditions of our human thought that he never seems to have realized how inconsistent with what Christianity really meant were the violent invectives which he used almost with the same breath with which he claimed the monopoly of Christian charity, and how intolerable it really was to think (as he did) that the most virtuous and pious heretic could not possibly attain salvation.

A second characteristic of St. Augustine's theology is that he identified the Church with the Kingdom of Heaven. He did it most conspicuously in his great work, *De Civitate Dei*, in which he contrasts the Kingdom of Christ with the kingdom of the world, and shews how the overthrow of the Roman Empire has meant the growth of this spiritual power. We must understand the Kingdom of Heaven, he says, in two senses—in the one sense in which both he who breaks and he who keeps the commandments belong to it, in the other sense in which it contains only those who obey.

[1] *Aug. Epist.* xxx. 2 (E.T.).

" Where both classes exist, it is the Church as it now is, but where only the one shall exist, it is the Church as it is destined to be when no wicked person shall be in her. Therefore the Church even now is the Kingdom of Christ and the Kingdom of Heaven. Accordingly, even now His saints reign with Him, though otherwise than as they shall reign hereafter; and yet, though the tares grow in the Church along with the wheat, they do not reign with Him. For they reign with Him who do what the Apostle says, ' If ye be risen with Christ, mind the things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. Seek those things which are above, not the things which are on the earth.' Of such persons he also says that their conversation is in heaven. In fine, they reign with Him who are so in His Kingdom that they themselves are His Kingdom."[1]

There can be no doubt that this conception of the Church as the Kingdom had a far-reaching influence in building up the Medieval Church as a world power. Probably all the great men who accomplished that received from Augustine the spiritual justification of a movement which was largely the result of the needs of society. But such a conception as that was alien to his mind. He was not a statesman. He did not think of the Church as a worldly power. He would have been one of the ardent opponents of the growth of the papacy. He thinks, indeed, that the rulers of the Church are already judging, but it is the spiritual judgement which is explained by the words, " What ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven." It is a judgement in which the wicked can take no part, a judgement which means a spiritual life.[2]

St. Augustine's conception, indeed, was always religious and philosophical. Christianity and Plotinus had alike taught him that the only true reality was God, and all human and earthly life was but an imperfect copy of the heavenly.

[1] *De Civitate Dei* xx. 9 (E.T.). On the Church as the Kingdom of God see especially Robertson, *Regnum Dei*, 169 *sq.*

[2] He deduces this from the words, " And I saw seats and them that sat upon them, and judgement was given." " It is not to be supposed that this refers to the last judgement, but to the seats of the rulers and to the rulers themselves by whom the Church is now governed " (*De Civitate Dei, loc. cit.*).

His conception of the Christian state would be a kingdom not of this world. It would not be an organized Church that would succeed the Roman Empire as a great world power, but the reign of the saints in love. The *Civitas Dei* was the copy of heaven on earth. It is one of the most interesting results of the influence of St. Augustine's writings that they should have had the effect of being one of the most potent forces in building up a conception of the Christian state quite inconsistent with his ideals.

Then, thirdly, St. Augustine looked upon the Church as the home of salvation. He had inherited from Cyprian the maxim that, "there is no salvation outside the Church." And this and similar statements occur with great frequency in his writings, especially in those directed against the Donatists. He connected it, indeed, with his own more spiritual theory of the Church, for he argued that as a man could not be saved without charity, and as there was no charity except in the unity of the Church, no man could be saved except in the Church.[1] So far does he carry this that he writes: "Let us suppose someone, therefore, chaste, continent, free from covetousness, no idolater, hospitable, ministering to the needy, no man's enemy, not contentious, patient, quiet, jealous of none, envying none, sober, frugal, but a heretic; it is of course clear to all that for this one fault only, that he is a heretic, he will fail to inherit the Kingdom of God."[2]

[1] He has no part in Christ who does not belong to the Church which is the body of Christ.

Epistula ad Catholicos (often called *De Unitate Ecclesiae*). § 7. Totus Christus caput et corpus est: caput unigenitus Dei filius et corpus eius ecclesia, sponsus et sponsa, duo in carne una. Quicumque de ipso capite a scripturis sanctis dissentiunt, etiamsi in omnibus locis inueniantur in quibus ecclesia designata est, non sunt in ecclesia, et rursus quicumque de ipso capite scripturis sanctis consentiunt et unitati ecclesiae non communicant, non sunt in ecclesia.

Ibid., § 49. Ad ipsam uero salutem ac uitam aeternam nemo peruenit nisi qui habet caput Christum. Habere autem caput Christum nemo poterit nisi qui in eius corpore fuerit, quod est ecclesia.

[2] *De Bapt.* iv. 25. Constituamus ergo aliquem castum, continentem, non auarum, non idolis seruientem, hospitalem, indigentibus ministrantem, non cuiusquam inimicum, non contentiosum, patientem, quietum, nullum aemulantem, nulli inuidentem, sobrium, frugalem haereticum: nulli utique dubium est propter hoc solum quod haereticus est regnum Dei non possessurum.

Such was his teaching, but the whole influence of his theology was to break down this crude theory. It was, in the first place, entirely inconsistent with his doctrine of Grace. The Cyprianic idea and that of the ordinary Catholic was that there was a definite, well-organized society in the world, and that no one who did not belong to it could be saved. And something very like the converse would have generally been considered reasonable: if a man was a good Catholic, who used his means of grace and had never been excommunicated for deadly sins, he would be saved. But St. Augustine's main conception was that of the elect, of those who were foreknown and predestinated of God, for whose salvation God was working. There were many in the Church to whom the gift of final perseverance was not given; there were others outside the Church who might really be amongst the called. This conception of the elect was really inconsistent with the Cyprianic form of the doctrine of the visible Church.

So St. Augustine emphasizes the fact that those in the Church who were not the elect might fall. Some there were in the house of God in such a way that they might be called the house of God, which is built upon the rock. But others were in the house, who did not belong to its structure nor to the society of fruitful and pacific righteousness.[1] There were many in the communion of the sacraments with the Church who were not in the Church.[2] On the other hand, the reverse also was true. In the ineffable foreknowledge of God many who seem to be without are really within, and many who seem to be within are really without.[3] The truly spiritual men, in fact, who, through some human perversity or the power of circumstances, appear to be expelled from

[1] *De Bapt.* vii. 99. Puto me non temere dicere alios ita esse in domo Dei, ut et ipsi etiam sint eadem domus Dei quae dicitur aedificari super petram, quae unica columba appellatur . . . alios autem ita dico esse in domo, ut non pertineant ad conpagem domus nec ad societatem fructiferae pacificaeque iustitiae.

[2] *Epistula ad Catholicos*, § 74. Multi tales sunt in sacramentorum communione cum ecclesia et tamen iam non sunt in ecclesia.

[3] *De Bapt.* v. 38. Namque in illa ineffabili praescientia Dei multi qui foris uidentur intus sunt et multi qui intus uidentur foris sunt. Ex illis ergo omnibus, qui ut ita dicam intrinsecus et in occulto intus sunt, constat ille hortus conclusus, fons signatus, puteus aquae uiuae, paradisus cum fructu pomorum.

the Church, prove their worth even better than if they remain within, for they never shew any enmity against the Church but are rooted in the solid rock of unity and Christian charity.[1] Whether they are within or without, whatsoever is flesh is flesh, and what is chaff is chaff.

In a well-known letter St. Augustine argues against those who asked, What has happened to good people before the time of Moses or of Christ? that "from the beginning of the human race, whoever believed in Him, and in any way knew Him, and lived in a pious and just manner according to His precepts, was undoubtedly saved by Him, in whatever time or place he may have lived."[2]

Nor, finally, are heretics entirely separated from the Church. They are joined with it in everything that they share with it.[3] The Church, in fact, recognized everything that is good in those that have separated.[4] Though they are severed from the bond of peace and charity, they are one in baptism.[5]

Now we may not be quite certain how far these passages are to be pressed, but it is obvious that they are inconsistent with the strict interpretation of the Cyprianic doctrine, or, at any rate, prepare the way for a less harsh rule. Yet St. Augustine never makes the reconciliation—the two sets of passages may be found almost side by side. Sometimes he seems to suggest that all those who are finally to be called will ultimately attain to the visible communion on earth. There comes a point in anyone's argument when he raises questions of which he cannot give a solution. As we read him we feel that St. Augustine had carried his arguments

[1] *De Bapt.* i. 26. Spiritales autem siue ad hoc ipsum pio studio proficientes non eunt foras, quia et cum aliqua uel peruersitate uel necessitate hominum uidentur expelli, ibi magis probant quam intus permaneant, cum aduersus ecclesiam nullatenus eriguntur, sed in solida unitatis petra fortissimo caritatis robore radicantur.

[2] *Epist.* cii. 12 (E.T.).

[3] *De Bapt.* i. 10. Heretics are joined to the Church in everything they share with it. "Si uero nonnulla eadem faciunt, non se in eis separauerunt et ex ea parte in texturae conpage detinentur, in cetera scissi sunt."

[4] *Ibid.* i. 9. Illud autem quod sanum maneret agnitum potius adprobaretur quam inprobatum uulneraretur.

[5] *Ibid.* i. 14. Separata est enim a uinculo caritatis et pacis, sed iuncta est in uno baptismate,

and his analysis farther than anyone in his own day, and in doing so had suggested thoughts which became fertile in other minds in the future. It is significant, however, that, as it is said, he never in an anti-Pelagian treatise quotes the statement that there is no salvation outside the Church.[1] If this be so, it is a sign that probably unconsciously he was beginning to feel the inconsistency of his doctrines of Grace and of the Church, and thus preparing for further development.

We have seen how on the one side the men who created the medieval papacy could draw from his writings their inspiration. On the other side it is quite easy to find in him the theory of the invisible Church as it was developed by the reformers. But there is no probability that he ever held such a conception. To him the only Church on earth was the visible Church, the society that bore that name and was so well known. Like everything else on earth, it was imperfect: the true Church was the Church which is in heaven, and everything which could be said only imperfectly of the Church on earth really applied to the great society of the saints which should reign hereafter.

III

If such was St. Augustine's theory of the Church, it may readily be understood how painful to him was such a division as the existence of Donatism implied. He was not, like a Cyprian, a statesman or a practical organizer or a disciplinarian. He had none of the desire of commonplace minds to impose a uniform system of worship and life on the Church. The authority of Catholic bishops or presbyters as such did not much concern him. But the unity of the Church was to him essential. If we remember that the authority of the Christian religion, the practice of Christian charity, and the attainment of salvation all depended (as he believed) upon preserving "unity," we shall understand that no exertion, no sacrifice of what was not a matter of principle, could be too great for him to make to attain it. He was prepared to make it easy for the Donatists to return

[1] See Reuter, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

to the Church, and by doing so he quite unconsciously caused a profound change in the theory of the ministry.

His fundamental argument against them was that based on the unity and catholicity of the Church. They were a community entirely confined to Africa, although they made great efforts to establish a church in Rome. Yet they claimed to be the Catholic Church. Against that claim St. Augustine appealed to what might seem to be the real facts of the case. They were confined to one small portion of the civilized world: the Catholic Church which they condemned was spread throughout the whole world. In particular, against them was the authority of the great Apostolic sees. There was the Church of Jerusalem, where the preaching of Christianity first began. There were all the great Churches of the East to which the letters of the Apostles had been written. How could they claim to be the Church founded by the Apostles when they were out of communion with the very churches which the Apostles founded? How could they be the true Church if they were out of communion with the great Apostolic see of the West which preserved the succession of bishops going back to St. Peter?

"Ask, O ye Donatists, if ye know not, ask how many stopping-places there were in the Apostle's journey from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum. Add up the number of the churches, and tell me how they have perished through our African strife. Corinth, Ephesus, Philippi, Thessalonica, Colossae—you have only the letters of the Apostle to read which he addressed to them; we read the letters, we preserve the faith, we are in communion with the churches."[1]

This argument is pressed home by Augustine with much force, and, whatever limitations it may have, it had great weight. It was really impossible to argue seriously that because Caecilian, Bishop of Carthage, had been ordained by a *traditor*, therefore a hundred years afterwards the church at Jerusalem was a schismatic body. But we must dwell on this point at somewhat greater length, for it has a particular interest for us here. The argument of St. Augustine

[1] *Epistula ad Catholicos* (*De Unitate Ecclesiae*) xii. 31. This is the argument of the whole treatise.

against the Donatists was used by Cardinal Wiseman against Newman and the Oxford movement and undoubtedly had considerable influence in weakening Newman's hold on the Anglican position, and promoting his secession to the Church of Rome.[1] Looking back now on the two controversies, it becomes apparent how different really was the situation in Oxford in 1839 from the situation in Africa in 390. In the first place, the Donatists claimed to be the one Church to the exclusion of all others. They were ready to deny the title of Church to the whole Catholic community throughout the world, and to confine its members to their own little society in Africa. The claim of Newman was only that the Church to which he belonged had an equal right with others to be looked upon as a part of the true Church.

The second point of difference was even more weighty. The Church of Rome, which claims to be the only true Church, would have just the same difficulty in justifying its position on St. Augustine's principles as the Church of England, for it has to explain how that can be the true Church which is out of communion with all the churches of the East, the representatives in the present day of those bodies to which the Apostles had written their letters. It must be recognized, and it will become apparent as we go on, that ever since the disunion of East and West the whole situation as regards the unity of the Church and the question where the true Church lies has been profoundly altered. The Church is divided. No one body can claim to be the only true Church, neither Rome nor Constantinople; and if that be so, no merely controversial argument like that of Cardinal Wiseman can exclude the Church of England from that title.

In the condition of the time, St. Augustine's argument had a large measure of force. The contention of the Donatists that they were the only true Church was, in fact, ridiculous. But even then it was not true that they alone

[1] Cardinal Wiseman's article appeared in the *Dublin Review*, August, 1839, p. 139, and is reprinted in *Essays on Various Subjects*. By His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman (London, 1853), vol. ii., p. 201. It is admirably dealt with by T. A. Lacey, *Catholicity*, pp. 141-143.

were guilty in the matter of schism or breach of charity. And the contention that they had in no sense the right to the title of Church could not really be justified, and, in fact, caused misgivings even to St. Augustine.

The second point with which St. Augustine had to deal was that of the purity of the Church. The Donatists contended that a Church became contaminated because it contained those who had been faithless, and in particular because its clergy were immoral in their lives or had been guilty of apostasy. They further maintained that any Church which communicated with a Church so contaminated became itself contaminated, and ceased therefore to be the true Church. St. Augustine is able to point out how impossible was the situation thus created. They had made the experiment and had found that the ideal could not be carried out. There were those in their own body who had been guilty of various heinous offences: had their Church become contaminated or untrue, because they had communicated with them? They appealed to Cyprian, but we can learn from the letters of Cyprian that there were in his day bishops guilty of serious moral offences: had they made the Church of Cyprian's time, to which the Donatists so constantly appealed, an impure one, and therefore no Church? If that were so, then the Donatists, who claimed that theirs was the Church of Cyprian, were themselves not a Church. The situation is indeed impossible. Ever since the beginning of Christianity there have always been those who, sometimes perhaps in a censorious spirit, sometimes from a real desire for purity, have made their ideal a pure Church, and have tried to attain it by refusing to communicate with those who do not come up to their particular standard. They have always failed. To use the well-known language, the wheat and the tares have to grow together until the harvest. We cannot distinguish them one from another. To attempt to substitute the judgement of man on earth for the judgement of God will always end in disaster.[1]

[1] *De Bapt.* i. 5. Non esse catholicam ecclesiam nisi eam quae, sicut promissa est, toto terrarum orbe diffunditur et extenditur usque ad fines terrae, quae crescens inter zizania et in taedio scandal-

But St. Augustine's own point of view ultimately took him deeper, for he was always thinking of the Church on earth as the imperfect copy of the Church in heaven, so he tells us in his *Retractations* that whenever he speaks of the Church "without spot or wrinkle," he means the Church, not as it is, but as it will be. Now on account of the infirmity and ignorance of its members it has each day to pray, "Forgive us our sins."[1] The Donatist and the ordinary Catholic alike would have argued: "Either the Church is holy or it is not; if it is not, how do you account for the language of St. Paul?"—and each would have made the appropriate deduction: the Donatist that his only was the true Church; the Catholic that he was really holy because he was a member of the Church. St. Augustine knows that such hard-and-fast alternatives are not possible here. The Church on earth is holy because it is continually striving to realize the heavenly ideal of holiness.

It was this doctrine of the pure Church which created the teaching of the Donatists with regard to the validity of sacraments. They had claimed that Caecilian was not a proper bishop because one of his consecrators had been a *traditor*, and, following the same argument, they maintained that no baptism conferred outside the Church by one who was a heretic or schismatic could possibly be valid. So they rebaptized and reordained any who came over to them from the Catholic Church. In much of this they had or thought they had Christian tradition on their side. They certainly had Cyprian, under whose guidance the African Church had refused to admit the baptism of heretics. On the other hand, it had become recognized throughout the greater part of the Christian world, though certainly not everywhere, that any baptisms conferred in the name of the

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orum requiem futuram desiderans dicit in psalmis: *a finibus terrae ad te exclamaui, cum taederet anima mea : in petra exaltasti me.* The argument is used with the greatest frequency.

[1] *Retract.* II. xviii. Ubicumque autem in his libris commemoravi *Ecclesiam non habentem maculam aut rugam,* non sic accipiendum est quasi iam sit, sed quae preparatur ut sit quando apparebit etiam gloriosa. Nunc enim propter quosdam ignorantias et infirmitates membrorum suorum, habet unde quotidie tota dicat: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra.*

Trinity, whether by schismatics or heretics, were to be recognized as valid. The same principle gradually came to prevail with regard to ordination. Any orders conferred according to the rule of the Church, whether within it or without, were to be recognized as validly conferred.

To the question of rebaptism, Augustine devotes much argument, and it is only possible to touch on the main principles. He points out that any teaching which maintained that sacraments depend on either the character or the faith of the minister must inevitably produce a state of complete uncertainty as to whether in any case a sacrament has been validly administered. If it must needs be that the performer of the ceremony is worthy, how about all those unworthy bishops in the Church of whom Cyprian speaks? Supposing that we find that the bishop who baptized us had been guilty of secret sin, shall we then hold that we were not properly baptized? Supposing we find that the bishop who baptized us really held heretical opinions, will it make our baptism of none effect? That, if proved, would lead to an impossible conclusion. No one's baptism would be safe. If, then, the doubtful morals or the dubious faith of one within the Church does not do away with the effects of baptism in the Church, why should the fact that a man is a schismatic or heretic make it of no avail? Clearly the baptism, if properly administered, is a true baptism anywhere.

And the reason of this is that the baptism is not the baptism of the individual, whether bishop or layman, who performs the ceremony: it is the baptism of the Church. The office of the baptizer is purely ministerial, for it is not he but Christ who baptizes. Even if there be among Christians rulers or ministers who are dead in their sins, yet He lives of whom it is said in the Gospel: "He it is who baptizeth."[1] So the sacrament was one, whether it was conferred without or within the Church, and the grace of

[1] *Cont. Parmenianum* ii. 22. Quapropter etsi apud Christianos sunt aliqui praepositi uel ministri per iniquitatem et impietatem suam mortui, uiuit tamen ille de quo dictum est in euangelio: "hic est qui baptizat."

the sacrament was given because the real minister of baptism was Christ. So, provided the sacrament was properly administered, a baptism was really valid whether it was a priest or a layman, a Catholic or a heretic, who performed the ceremony—nay, even Augustine raises the question whether it was not possible for a pagan to baptize—but this, he says, a General Council must settle.[1]

But how was it possible that baptism thus given could be of any avail, for the Holy Spirit dwelt only in the Church: therefore baptism given outside the Church could not give the Holy Spirit. That only in the Church was the Holy Spirit was a recognized principle in Christian theology, and it was this argument that had so largely influenced Cyprian. The fundamental point of Augustine's answer is that it was true that such baptism would do no good, but yet the baptism was rightly conferred. Anyone who was baptized outside the Church was really baptized, but it was only when he was joined in Christian unity that his baptism could avail anything. He might have baptism outside the Church, but could only have it for his good within the Church.[2] However artificial such a doctrine might be, it was felt to be necessary because of the fundamental belief that only in the unity of the Church could the Holy Spirit be given.

The same arguments and principles were applied also to ordination. It is a remarkable proof of the real desire for unity of the Catholic party in Africa that they should have definitely proposed from the beginning of schism that if the Donatist bishops returned to Christian unity they should retain their office, and the two bishops should become colleagues, the survivor ultimately to succeed, or if two bishops was looked upon by the laity as improper, both were to retire.[3] This meant not merely a great personal con-

[1] *Cont. Parmenianum* ii. 29, 30.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 28. Sicut autem habent in baptismo quod per eos dari possit, sic in ordinatione ius dandi; utrumque quidem ad perniciem suam, quamdiu caritatem non habent unitatis. Sed tamen aliud est non habere, aliud perniciose habere, aliud salubriter habere. Quidquid non habetur, dandum est cum opus est dari; quod uero perniciose habetur, per correctionem depulsa pernicie agendum est ut salubriter habeatur.

[3] *Epist.* cxxviii., §§ 2, 3. Sic eius nobiscum teneunt unitatem, ut non solum viam salutis inveniant, sed nec honorem Episcopatus

cession, but a definite theological change—Cyprian, for example, refused to recognize any heretical or schismatical orders, and even after the baptism of heretics had been recognized there were many who hesitated to consider their orders valid. The reason was that ordination was looked upon as in an especial way the work of the Church, that in it the Holy Spirit was given, and it was believed that the Holy Spirit worked only in the Church.

St. Augustine's argument against them is that baptism and orders are really on the same footing. Just as a baptized person does not lose his baptism by becoming a heretic, as is proved by the fact that he is not rebaptized if he returns, so an ordained person does not lose his power of conferring either baptism or orders. The reason is that both alike, as has been shewn, are conferred, not by the minister but by Christ Himself, that they are the sacraments not of the bishop but of the Church, and that the Divine Spirit works in the recipient and not any human power. The sacraments are there although they confer no real benefit without unity.[1] So the Donatists have all the sacraments. "We acknowledge

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amittant. Neque enim in eis divinae sacramenta veritatis, sed commenta humani detestamur erroris: quibus sublatis fraternum pectus amplectimur, Christiana nobis caritate coniunctum, quod nunc dolemus dissensione diabolica separatum. Poterit quippe unusquisque nostrum, honoris sibi socio copulato, uicissim sedere eminentius, sicut peregrino episcopo iuxta considente collega. Hoc cum alternis Basilicis utrinque conceditur, uterque ab alterutro honore mutuo praevenitur: quia ubi praeceptio caritatis dilataverit corda, possessio pacis non fit augusta; ut uno eorum defuncto, deinceps iam singulis singuli pristino more succedunt. Nec novum aliquid fiet: nam hoc ab ipsius separationis exordio, in eis qui damnato nefariae discissionis errore unitatis dulcedinem vel sero sapuerunt, catholica dilectio custodivit. Aut si forte Christiani populi singulis delectantur episcopis et duorum consertium, inusitata rerum facie tolerare non possunt, utrique de medio secedamus, et ecclesiis in singulis damnata schismatis causa in unitate pacifica constitutis, ab his qui singuli in ecclesiis singulis inveniantur, unitate facta per loca necessaria singuli constitinantur episcopi. On St. Augustine's teaching on reordination see especially Mr. Turner's essay in *The Early History of the Church and the Ministry*, pp. 179 *ff.*

[1] *Cont. Ep. Parm.* ii. 28. Nulla ostenditur causa, cur ille, qui ipsum baptismum amittere non potest, ius dandi possit amittere. Utrumque enim sacramentum est et quadam consecratione utrumque homini datur, illud cum baptizatur, illud cum ordinatur, ideoque in catholica utrumque non licet iterari. Cf. *De Bapt.* i. 2.

in them," he says, "the good things which are divine, their holy baptism, the blessing conferred by ordination, their profession of self-denial, their vow of celibacy, their faith in the Trinity, and such like; all which things were indeed theirs before, but profited them nothing, because they had not charity."[1]

If we review the attitude of St. Augustine through the whole controversy, two things are apparent. The one is his belief in the paramount importance of unity, the other is his readiness to make every possible concession in order to attain it. If we consider the traditions of the African Church and the authority in particular of the writings of St. Cyprian, it is hardly possible to realize a more striking instance of the revision of preconceived ideas and prejudices for the well-being of the Christian Church than Augustine exhibits.

IV

The polemic which St. Augustine carried on against the Donatists had ultimately a profound influence on Western teaching concerning the Christian ministry. Here, as in other directions, we shall find that his influence has been twofold in character, that he is the father alike of the Medieval and of the Protestant conception of the ministry.

If anyone reads St. Augustine's writings after those of St. Cyprian he will be profoundly struck by the very slight place occupied by the episcopal office in his thought. St. Cyprian has the word "bishop" always on his lips, St. Augustine rarely. This arose partly from the nature of the controversy in which he was involved, but still more from his own character and disposition. He was not a statesman, he thought little of hierarchical distinctions, he thought much more of personal religion. He recognizes the priesthood of the laity.[2] There is no mediatorial power, he tells us, in the episcopal office.[3] He thinks not of his own position, but of the service he can render. Bishops are placed in the Church for the good of the

[1] *Ep.* lxi. 2. [2] *De Civitate Dei* xx. 10.
[3] *Cont. Ep. Parm.* ii. 15, 16.

community.[1] Why, he asks, may a person give up his orders, but not his position as a Christian, or refuse to be made a bishop? Because, he answers, priesthood and episcopacy are not necessary for salvation. The Christian religion is.[2]

It is probably startling to many people who associate the name of St. Augustine with a very different theory of the Church to realize this point of view. What, then, did St. Augustine think of the Christian ministry?

Let us first turn to the doctrine of the succession. He does not often refer to it, but in one of his letters he argues against the Donatists on the basis of it. A careful study of his argument will shew how different was his conception from that now taught. Let us remember that his contention was that, contrary to an opinion which had largely prevailed in the Church, the orders conferred by heretics were valid. Now a modern theologian in his position would have had no difficulty about it. He would have pointed out that their orders were conferred by bishops themselves properly consecrated in accordance with the rites of the Church and that, therefore, the Donatists possessed the Apostolic Succession.

But St. Augustine's argument is that the Donatists have not the Apostolic Succession. He turns to the Church of Rome, and enumerates the succession of bishops from St. Peter and then refers in contrast to the ridiculous little Donatist Church which had been established there so short a time. Succession, in fact, with him, meant, as always in the ancient Church, the succession of bishops in a see, and not succession by ordination. Of that he knows nothing. If we were to use his arguments at the present day we should appeal to the long succession of the Archbishops of Canter-

[1] *Epist.* cxxviii. 3. Episcopi autem propter Christianos populos ordinamur. Quod ergo Christianis populis ad Christianam pacem prodest, hoc de nostro episcopatu faciamus. . . . Episcopalis dignitas fructuosior nobis erit, si gregem Christi magis deposita collegerit, quam retenta disperserit.

[2] *Contra Cresconium* ii. 13. Sicut in accipiendis his rebus possunt esse iustae causae, cur excuset quisque fieri episcopus, nec tamen similiter potest ulla causa esse iusta, cur quisquis excuset fieri christianus, quid ita, nisi quia sine episcopatu uel clericatu salui esse possumus, sine christiana uero religione non possumus?

bury and should contrast the recent character of the succession of the Archbishops of Westminster. It is not here, then, that we can find an explanation of St. Augustine's theory of the ministry.[1]

The difficulty of answering the question as to what was St. Augustine's theory of orders arises from the fact that it was one which in his time was never asked. The question was not in dispute or in any way a matter of controversy. On all such points the Donatists agreed exactly with the Catholic Church. They had the same hierarchy. They appointed and ordained their clergy in the same way. Both alike acted according to the traditions of the Church, and the question on what depended the validity of orders or sacraments was not discussed.

Indirectly, however, we learn a good deal, and we find St. Augustine really introduced a change which had a quite unexpected result. The traditional theory was that the sacraments were the sacraments of the Church. This St. Augustine also held. The bishops and other clergy were the ministers of the Church, the sacraments were rightly administered because they were administered as the Church had ordained, and the ministers were rightly appointed because they were appointed according to the rules of the Church. And the first tendency of St. Augustine's teaching was to emphasize this point of view. By emphasizing the unimportance of the ministerial act, by asseverating again and again that baptism is not the baptism of the bishop, whether orthodox or heretical, and that the true minister is Christ, he tended to depreciate the significance of the clergy. There can, I think, be no doubt that his own feelings and beliefs were what we should now describe as decidedly anti-sacerdotal.

But incidentally he introduced a profound change. He had to explain how it came to be that when a bishop had ceased to be a member of the Church he could still act as a bishop, and his answer, as we have seen, was this. If a person was baptized in the Church and became a heretic, and then came back to the Church, he was not rebaptized.

[1] *Ep.* liii. 2. On St. Augustine's teaching on the Apostolical Succession, see Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 192 *ff.*

Baptism once conferred could never be lost. So the power of baptizing or of giving any of the sacraments could not be lost. The bishop could still do all that he could do before, although he could in schism only do it to his own destruction. Outside the Church, therefore, the bishop could administer sacraments validly. This somewhat artificial conception—which would easily make the sacraments seem simply magical—was developed by St. Augustine to meet the particular difficulty which confronted him, but it had a profound influence on the later theology of the Christian Church. He first defined what later theologians call the *character indelebilis*. Once a priest, always a priest. Once a bishop, always a bishop. St. Augustine's solution of the difficulty was largely influenced by the fact that he did not think much of either bishops or priests. Its influence in later times was very great, because it became the basis of the whole theory of the clergy as a sacerdotal class. In the days of Cyprian the Church considered the deposition of a bishop or priest a real deposition. The sacraments of a deposed bishop were looked upon as invalid. St. Augustine, anxious to find a solid argument for recognizing the baptism and the orders of heretics, was the first theologian to ascribe this *character* to holy orders.

So once more we find that St. Augustine is the source of two opposing streams of thought. The Evangelical Christian, reading his works, will find a view of the ministry very similar to that which he himself holds. He certainly finds no exaggeration of its importance. The ministry depends on the Church, not the Church on the ministry. St. Augustine is an Evangelical, almost a Protestant, theologian. The change of tone compared with Cyprian is most striking. But on the other hand the theory he established altered the whole basis of the theology of orders. Orders in the ancient Church depended upon the Church. Orders in the medieval Church depended upon the bishop. In the early Church episcopal ordination was necessary because the bishop was the person appointed by the Church to perform its functions. In the medieval and modern Church the idea has grown up that the Church depends upon the due ordination of bishops. St. Augus-

tine's theory of the Apostolic Succession was that which had always prevailed up to his time, but the theory of ministerial action which he introduced, not to exalt the ministry, but because he did not rate its importance highly, became the basis of the more sacerdotal theory of the ministry and the foundation of the later theory of Apostolic Succession.

V

Closely connected with the Donatist controversy come St. Augustine's views with regard to persecution and the relation of the Church to the civil power. It was one of the greatest misfortunes of the controversy that it had developed an atmosphere of persecution. It was not unnatural, indeed, that Constantine should think that he might benefit Christianity by supporting it with the power of the civil magistrate, and that he and many others who had only imperfectly learned what Christianity meant should have thought that this would be an efficacious way of curing division. At any rate, we find a fierce persecution of the Donatists initiated, and that the result was the exact opposite to what had been hoped. It served to embitter instead of to allay the schism. The Donatists claimed that to suffer persecution was the mark of the true Church, and refused to be reconciled, and there can be no doubt that both the wide prevalence and the bitterness of the sect were due to the extent to which it had had to suffer.

But the appeal to the state and the recourse to the civil power was not entirely one-sided. St. Augustine presses home to them their inconsistency. They objected to the intervention of the state, but it was they who had first appealed to it. They had refused to accept the decision of councils at Rome and Arles, and had demanded to be tried by the civil power. When they had the opportunity, as under Julian, they had been quite ready to make use of the support of the civil power against the Catholics, and they had used it also against those who had separated from themselves and made a schism of a schism. An atmosphere of persecution was created.

Moreover, the whole question had been complicated and embittered by the appearance of the Circumcelliones. It was quite clear that order must be preserved. It was quite clear that those who were guilty of murder and plundering and sacrilege must be punished, and it is probable that the difference between preserving order and punishing crime, on the one hand, and on the other hand using the power of the state to influence opinion, was not yet realized. The attacks on Catholics made an appeal to the civil power just and necessary; and it was natural to extend the interference so as to restrain the opinions which were not unnaturally looked on as the cause of disorder.

In relation to persecution, as in so many other directions, the influence of St. Augustine has probably been different from what he intended, and he has been held responsible for encouraging what he had done a great deal to mitigate. Originally, as might be expected from his character, he was opposed to persecution. "My opinion was," he writes, "that no one should be coerced into the unity of Christ, that we must act only by words, fight only by arguments, and prevail by force of reason, lest we should have those whom we knew as avowed heretics feigning themselves to be Catholics."[1] He goes on to explain that this opinion of his had been changed not by argument, but by experience. He had found that the mild methods of coercion which prevailed in Hippo had been singularly effective, and therefore he urges the duty of using the state to assist the spread of right opinion. But he is always particular in insisting that in no case must the penalty of death be inflicted, and that what he wishes is not persecution but mild coercion.

It may be doubted whether St. Augustine really read his experience right. It is probable that what influenced the people of Hippo was the fact that instead of an unjust and severe persecution they found that any such severity was mitigated, and that they were exposed only to repressive measures of a mild character. He ascribed to this coercion what was really due to his own personal influence extending over many years. His eloquence and dialectical skill, his

[1] *Ep.* xciii. 17 (E.T.).

powerful and persistent arguments, his exhibition of the power of Christianity in his own person, his insistence on Christian union as the fulfilment of the law of charity, must have had a powerful effect, and we do not feel convinced by his experience of the benefit of methods of coercion.

Normally, he used his influence on the side of mitigation. An admirable example is given in a letter to Marcellinus, the Emperor's representative in Africa, pleading for moderation. The case was certainly a sufficiently striking one. Some Donatists had been accused, and we may presume justly, of murdering one presbyter, of beating another presbyter, digging out his eye and cutting off his finger. We should hardly think the intervention of the civil power in such a case illegitimate, nor the penalty of death improper. But St. Augustine writes to plead for them. He fears the death penalty may be inflicted. In the case of the execution of ordinary criminals he would be ready to pass it over in silence, but anything like such a retaliation for the sufferings of the servants of God could not be endured. "Let your indignation against their crimes," he writes, "be tempered by considerations of humanity. Be not provoked by their sinful deeds to gratify the passion of revenge. Treat them as an affectionate father. Let not the sufferings of Catholic servants of God, which ought to be useful in the spiritual upbuilding of the weak, be sullied by the retaliation of injuries."[1]

Here, as elsewhere, the writings of St. Augustine have had an influence different from what he desired. The main principle of his life was to mitigate persecution, but he had allowed himself to use, in an unfortunate way, the words "Compel them to come in," and in a harsher and ruder age his writings would be quoted as a justification of Christian persecution. It has taken the Christian Church a long time to learn its lesson: some, perhaps, have not yet learnt it. But we may hope that it has begun to be realized that force and violence in any form are neither legitimate nor effective means either for the spread of orthodoxy or the propagation of Christianity.

[1] *Ep.* cxxxiii.

VI

Our researches have suggested to us that while St. Augustine estimates so highly the authority of the Church and sacraments, his teaching differed widely, both from many modern theories, and from the doctrine often called Augustinian. Further light may be gained by considering other aspects of his teaching. We have noticed how strongly he believed in and was moved by the authority of the Church, and that at the same time he did not ascribe to it any infallibility. This point demands some further investigation.

The Donatists were accustomed to appeal, as was indeed natural, to the letters of Cyprian and the council which had been held under his presidency on the question of baptism. To this Augustine answers that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments stand in a place by themselves, and that no letters of any bishop can have authority as against them; that such letters may be corrected by the greater authority, learning, and wisdom of other bishops or by councils; that provincial councils must yield to the authority of universal councils; and that even universal councils can be corrected, the earlier by the later. New things may be brought to light, and truth may progress without strife or bitterness in holy humility, Catholic peace, and Christian charity.[1]

These general principles may be supplemented by the particular question of the authority of the Church of Rome. Just as St. Augustine upheld the authority of the Universal Church, without ascribing to it any infallibility, so he combined the greatest respect for the Apostolic see of the West with a refusal to recognize its right to dictate to other churches. Even Peter, its founder, was not infallible. It is true, indeed, that the primacy of the apostolate is superior to any bishopric in the world; but Peter had failed to hold to the rule of truth as the Church afterwards laid it down. Subsequent history has shewn how completely wrong was his Judaizing policy. He was rebuked by Paul, and the great value of his example is that in spite of this difference of opinion on a matter by no means unimportant, he preserved Christian unity.[2] The same principle applies to the

[1] *De Bapt.* ii. 4, 14. [2] *Ibid.* ii. 2.

Church of Rome. An unknown writer had maintained that its rule with regard to fasting on the seventh day ought to be followed universally. He had appealed to the authority of Peter, the Janitor of Heaven, the chief of the Apostles, the Foundation of the Church. From him these commands had come. The reply of St. Augustine was, that if other apostles were willing to live in peace and unity with Peter, though he introduced customs different from their own, the Church which he founded must manage to live in peace and unity with others, although they did not accept its decrees on every point.[1]

It is not necessary to enter into detail on the question of appeals to Rome. The Church of Africa, after careful investigation and inquiry, definitely refused to allow appeals to Rome, or to receive an emissary from Rome to decide cases. No synod enjoined or allowed this. The Nicene Council has ordered that all causes should be decided where they arise. No one can believe that our God will inspire a single individual with justice, and deny it to a large number of bishops sitting in council. St. Augustine was present at the council at which this letter was written, and although it may be true that he did not take great interest in ecclesiastical questions, it harmonizes with his expressed opinions.[2] St. Augustine was no more willing than Cyprian to accept in any way the supremacy of the Roman Church. Both alike recognized its primacy. Both alike were full of admiration and respect for it as the great Apostolic see of the West, but neither was prepared to recognize that it had any authority to override other churches.

[1] *Ep.* xxxvi. 21. *Petrus etiam,* inquit, *Apostolorum caput, caeli ianitor, et Ecclesiae fundamentum, extincto Simone, qui diaboli fuerat nonnisi ieiunio vincendi figura, idipsum Romanos edocuit, quorum fides annuntiatur universo orbi terrarum.* Numquid ergo ceteri Apostoli prandere Christianos contra Petrum docuerunt in universo orbe terrarum? Sicut itaque inter se vixerunt concorditer Petrus et condiscipuli eius, sic inter se concorditer vivant sabbato ieiunantes quos plantavit Petrus, et sabbato prandentes quos plantaverunt condiscipuli eius.

[2] On the question of appeal from the Church of Africa to Rome and the Sardican canon, see Robertson in Murray's *Dictionary of Christian Biography,* pp. 84, 85, and the authorities there quoted.

Not only does St. Augustine neither accept nor desire any infallible authority, he is always anxious that the authority of the Church should not in any way be a burden. In his well-known letter to Januarius he bids him "hold fast this as the fundamental principle in the present discussion, that our Lord Jesus Christ has appointed to us a 'light yoke' and an 'easy burden,' as He declares in the Gospel." "He has bound together His people under the new dispensation in fellowship by sacraments which are in number very few, in observance most easy, and in significance most excellent, as baptism solemnized in the name of the Trinity, the communion of His body and blood, and such other things as are prescribed in the canonical scriptures." "Those things which are held on the authority, not of Scripture but of tradition, and are observed throughout the whole world, may be understood to have been instituted by the Apostles themselves or by a council." Here the authority of the Church is most useful. This especially concerns the great Christian festivals. Other things, which are different in different places and countries, may be left to the authority of the particular church. There is no better rule for the wise and serious Christian in this matter than to conform to the practice which he finds prevailing in the church to which it may be his lot to go. This he ought to do for the sake of fellowship with them with whom we live.

But St. Augustine is inclined to go somewhat farther than this. He doubts the value of the excessive number of customs which had a tendency to grow up. "I cannot, however, sanction," he writes, "with my approbation those ceremonies which are departures from the custom of the Church, and are instituted on the pretext of being symbolical of some holy mystery: although, for the sake of avoiding offence to the piety of some and the pugnacity of others, I do not venture to condemn severely many things of this kind. . . . My opinion therefore is that, wherever it is possible, all those things should be abolished without hesitation which neither have warrant in Holy Scripture nor are found to have been appointed by councils of bishops, nor are confirmed by the practice of the universal Church,

but are so infinitely various, according to the different customs of different places, that it is with difficulty, if at all, that the reason which guided men in appointing them can be discovered." Even if nothing in them be contrary to true faith, they are not desirable. The essence of the Christian Church is that it should be free, that its sacraments are few, and that it knows nothing of the burdensome ceremonies of Judaism. We seem to be reading here the sober language of Anglican moderation.[1]

St. Augustine's treatment of these questions serves admirably to illustrate his religious standpoint. He is by nature and conviction an Evangelical Christian. He does not care for ecclesiastical position, but he is jealous of religious freedom. His thoughts are always of God and His grace. Anything which will lead a man to Him—or, perhaps, as he would look on it, by which God brings a man to Himself —he cherishes; but, as much as any modern Evangelical, he fears the ordinances or the organization which may tend to obscure and hinder personal religion. Rigidity of liturgical rule, or of discipline, or of ecclesiastical custom, he entirely disliked. It may be asked how he reconciled his conception of the authority of the Church with his refusal to recognize any plenary authority. The answer must be, as in the case of the purity of the Church, that his attitude was conditioned by his philosophy. The Church, indeed, the true Church, is infallible, but that is the Church whose pattern is stored up in the heavens. The Church on earth is an imperfect copy of the heavenly original, and its work is continuously to strive to attain truth.

There have always been those in every age who have demanded an absolute, infallible authority. Either, they say, the teaching is true or it is not true. They cannot recognize any grades of truth or refuse to allow that truth can in any way be relative to our own mental development. Some have tried to find this infallible authority in Scripture, but they are at once confronted with the difficulty of the want of an authoritative interpreter and the discrepancies between different passages. Others have tried to find it in the authority of the Church, but no one has yet been able to

[1] *Ep.* liv., lv.

find an authoritative statement of where the authority of the Church really lies. Others have tried to find it in the infallibility of popes, but they are immediately confronted with the fact that many utterances of popes have been erroneous, and that there is no exact means of distinguishing which papal utterances are infallible and which are not. The demand for infallibility is one which, in human life, it is impossible to gratify. All truth here must have an element of relativity and imperfection. We must be content to recognize that we have in the spiritual weight and authority of the whole Christian Church a quite sufficient guide, if we will only use it, to arrive at such a measure of truth as we need for our guidance in this life.

VII

What, then, can we finally deduce from the teaching of St. Augustine ?

1. First of all, his conception of the Church. We have seen how he was the source on the one side of the medieval conception of the temporal authority of the Roman Church, on the other of the Protestant doctrine of the visible and invisible Church. Neither of these represented his own teaching. His doctrine of the Church, indeed, is one which, if we work it out, we shall find much better adapted to the needs of the present day than either of the others.

To him, there is no Church on earth but the one visible society. That earthly society must partake necessarily of the imperfection which accompanies everything in its material embodiment. The true ideal Church is in heaven, and the earthly Church is always striving to realize that ideal. So he definitely tells us that he understood the holiness of the Church. The Church here on earth is imperfect. It consists of men who are not yet really holy. It contains elements inconsistent with its holiness. But we, like the apostles, speak of the Church being what it is always striving to become. That is why we call it the holy Church.

It was the same point of view which prevented him from feeling any difficulty about the relation of the actual Church

to Christian truth. No doubt, ideally, the Church was infallible, but he does not expect infallibility in this material embodiment of it. He feels the weight of its authority, and can learn from it, but he does not ask for rigid and infallible knowledge. He is prepared to acquiesce in a certain indefiniteness. The Church when it is perfect will have perfect knowledge.

In relation to Christian unity, St. Augustine never attained full insight. He leaves many irreconcilable conclusions, and has never seen the way to reconcile them. He had not, indeed, realized how irreconcilable they might appear to be. The overpowering influence of the idea that the one Catholic Church could alone be called the true Church, that nowhere else was there salvation, that in no separated body was there to be found the Holy Spirit, the exigencies of his controversy with the Donatists prevented him from seeing clearly. Yet we have seen how all his arguments, his doctrine of grace, his insight into the reality of things, tended to break down these rigid conceptions. We may apply his principles a little farther than he did and recognize that the unity of the Christian Church is, as much as its holiness or its possession of truth, something ideal. There is the one Church without division in the heavenly sphere: the Church on earth is continuously striving to attain that ideal unity.

2. Secondly, his doctrine of the ministry and sacraments. He held, absolutely, that the sacraments are the sacraments of the Church, that Christian ministers are but instruments of the Church in performing the sacraments. There is not in his theology anything which we in modern days would call sacerdotalism. On the other hand, the medieval doctrine of the ministry and sacraments was largely built up on one element of his teaching, and that element was inconsistent with his real point of view. Like him, we recognize that the ultimate validity of sacraments depends upon the authority and voice of the Church, which is the home of the Spirit; but if we realize that the Church is not confined to one single organization, but consists of the whole body of the faithful baptized, and that therefore all Christian societies represent, some more, some less imperfectly, the true Church, and that none of them are without the gift of

God's Holy Spirit, then there will be no such society so imperfect as to be without sacramental grace. In all of them baptism, the communion of the body and blood of Christ, ordination, penance, are sacramental—that is, are means of imparting to their members a portion of God's Holy Spirit.

3. Then, thirdly, the Church of Africa and St. Augustine, in their controversy with the Donatists, give us a remarkable example of the way in which a church may learn to correct its errors. They had inherited the authoritative teaching of Cyprian, and guided by him would have been led to believe that neither the baptism nor the orders of schismatics should be accepted. They learned that they were mistaken. They realized that for the sake of Christian unity they must change their attitude. We find them prepared to recognize both the baptism and the orders of those who had separated from them. When reunion is accomplished the Donatist bishops and clergy take their places in the reunited Church without any form of reordination. They were offered the same status and position that they had held in their own community.

We are confronted with a similar position. The great barrier to reunion at the present moment is an incorrect conception of the doctrine of Apostolical Succession. Not the doctrine itself, for the open and visible succession of bishops in the Christian Church is still as it was—a visible sign of the continuity of Christian teaching; but a modern conception of its meaning. The modern teaching of succession by ordination finds no support in the teaching of the early Church, to which the Church of England rightly appeals with a particular emphasis. That barrier once removed, it will be possible without sacrifice of principle, if we are willing, to restore Christian unity. Every consideration of truth and charity demands that we should recognize the position, and be as honest and courageous as was the Church of Africa under St. Augustine.

4. Then, lastly, St. Augustine, from the beginning to the end of his writings, teaches us that the ultimate basis and aim of the Church is Christian charity, and that the ultimate appeal must be to that. We recognize that he did not see quite fully what the content of that idea might mean. The

denotation of the idea of charity has continually widened. It is not his errors that we must copy, or his mistakes that we must repeat. We can preserve his ardent longing for unity without thinking that there is no salvation outside a narrow conception of the Christian Church, and without thinking that the gifts of the Holy Spirit are confined to those who have episcopal orders. What he has taught us is that the true meaning of the Christian Church lies not in its authority or its organization, but in the fact that it is the embodiment of the idea of Christian charity, that in it we are brothers one of another, in it we can pray together, in it be united in the grace and reality of the sacraments. The sons of the new Jerusalem, he tells us, are travailed with and brought forth with charity as their mother, it is charity that has established them within her walls. O beloved sons, sons of the kingdom, sons of Jerusalem, in Jerusalem is the vision of peace. All that love peace are blessed in her. It is ye who enter in when her gates are closed and her bars are fastened. Seek and love peace at home and abroad, in friend and foe. Seek peace and ensue it.[1]

[1] *Enarratio in Psalmum* cxlvii. 14, 15, 16. Filii sunt, sancti sunt: isti filii sancti iam laudantes et gaudentes, parturiti et parti sunt matre caritate, inclusi sunt colligente caritate. . . . Ecce hoc dico, o filii dilecti, o filii regni, o ciues Jerusalem, quoniam in Jerusalem uisio pacis est: et omnes qui amant pacem, benedicuntur in ea, et ipsi intrant cum clauduntur portae et firmantur uectes. Hanc quam nominatam sic amatis et diligitis, ipsam sectamini, ipsam desiderate: ipsam in domo, ipsum in negotio, ipsam in uxoribus, ipsam in filiis, ipsam in seruis, ipsam in amicis, ipsam in inimicis diligite. . . . Quaere pacem ait et sequere eam.

LECTURE V

THE DIVISIONS OF THE CHURCH

"*I hear that there be divisions among you.*"—1 COR. xi. 18.

Christian divisions.

The Nestorian and Monophysite heresies. The doctrinal question. Political and social influences. Results of the schism.

The schism of East and West. Differences of temperament and theology. The political division. The Double Procession and the *filioque* clause. The claims of the Papacy. Results.

The Medieval Church. The development of the Papacy. Its final definition. Cause of the development. Results. Claim to preserve unity and efficiency. Its methods.

The Reformation. The aims of Erasmus. His failure. Erasmus and Luther. The Anglican reform. Influence of Greek thought. Results of the Reformation. The doctrine of an Invisible Church. Calvin and Presbyterianism. Independency. The growth of sectarianism. Dogmatic narrowness. The formularies of the Reformation. The development of Romanism. The Council of Trent. Theological seminaries. The Vatican Council and the doctrine of Infallibility.

Conclusion. The evils of over-definition. Unspiritual methods. Inadequate theories about the Church.

So far we have been engaged in studying the undivided Church. For many centuries after the beginning of Christianity the Church presented to the world the aspect of real unity. There were, indeed, separated bodies, but they were local and, compared with the great Church, insignificant. From time to time Christendom was rent by controversies, but a solution was found, and no permanent schism was created. But ultimately this external unity was broken. As the Church extended and embraced nations not fundamentally influenced by the Greco-Roman civilization, as the difference of temperament between East and West became more apparent, as civilization declined, and the intercourse of nations became more difficult, temporary divisions tended to become permanent, and Christianity presented

the spectacle of a number of separated bodies with little knowledge of one another, preserving and stereotyping a particular aspect of a religion which was intended to be universal. Then came first the rise and then the break-up of the centralized Church of the Middle Ages. The growth of new nations, the rise of the new learning, the stimulus of an intellectual revival, the revolt against a system which had been too rigid and uniform and had then failed at its very centre, produced an apparently chaotic strife of contending conceptions of the Christian message and created the divided Church which we have to-day.

It is this history which we have now to trace. We have to investigate the causes of this disunion, to study the new interpretations of the Church which were formulated, and to discover, if we are able, the method by which these evils may be remedied.

I

The first period of division to which I would draw your attention is that which has left the permanent schisms of the Nestorian, Jacobite, and Armenian Churches.

The doctrinal controversies of the fifth century are not a pleasant page in Church history. The issue has been confused and the struggle embittered by ecclesiastical partisanship, by the jealousy of the rival patriarchates, and by political issues. No attempt was made to shew any fairness towards those who disagreed or seemed to disagree with the victorious party. It must be remembered that the greater part of the Christian Church had only been converted to Christian teaching for a short time; that the transformation of society had not been accomplished at all fundamentally. Heathen passions and sentiments had not been obliterated. Christianity had become a great popular movement, and it was natural that peoples who had been moved for the first time to religious enthusiasm should exhibit the faults of a nature which had not yet been disciplined.

As regards the question at issue there can be little doubt that the more extreme members of the Antiochene and Alexandrine churches were alike guilty of exaggerating

particular aspects of Christianity. Then, as now, there were two types of Christians. There were those who were attracted by the ethical teaching and the personal example of our Lord. There were those, again, to whom the fact of redemption and the more mystical elements in Christianity made the greater appeal. Nor was it unnatural that these different aspects should find their homes among particular cities and peoples. It is true, again, that the decision of the Council of Chalcedon, which emphasized both the divine and the human element in our Lord's Person, and kept the balance true between the two extremes without attempting an explanation of what must always be an impenetrable mystery, was the only possible and right solution. But it may well be doubted whether there was any justification for condemning those whose doctrine seemed in some ways imperfect. Nestorius was a confused thinker, but there is no trace of fairness in the methods of his opponent Cyril. It was the ecclesiastical passion, the political enmity and racial antipathy that were aroused, which transformed these theological differences into permanent schisms.[1]

Nestorianism represented or rather exaggerated the form of teaching which had prevailed at Antioch, and in the Syrian cities which drew their inspiration from that source.

[1] Much new light has been thrown on the teaching of Nestorius by the discovery and publication of a work written by himself in his old age after the Council of Chalcedon—in fact, his Apology. It is preserved in Syriac and has been published by Bedjan in the original, by Nau in a translation (*Nestorius, Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas.* Édité par Paul Bedjan. Paris, 1910. And *Nestorius, Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas.* Traduit en Français par F. Nau, Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1910). Two recent works may be mentioned. Dr. Bethune-Baker (*Nestorius and his Teaching.* Cambridge, 1908) tries to prove that Nestorius was not a Nestorian. Professor Loofs (*Nestorius and his Place in the History of Christian Doctrine.* Cambridge, 1914) maintains that he was aNestorian, and that that was the traditional Christian teaching. Neither is correct. It is, however, clear that Nestorius was a confused thinker. The standard by which he was tried and condemned was not that of Chalcedon, but the teaching of Cyril. His treatment was unjust, and illustrates the evil of a State-created orthodoxy. The late Dr. Bigg, who was a theologian of deep insight, seemed to doubt whether the doctrinal definitions of the fifth century were needed. At any rate, we have to remember that they have left no mark on the Creed and that the remnant of the Monophysite Churches express their faith in the same formulary as we do.

Banished by imperial decree from the Empire, it found a home in the cities of Northern Mesopotamia and the revived Persian Empire, where Byzantine influence was powerless. It was natural that the rival monarchy should be more ready to welcome what Constantinople condemned as a heresy. In these districts it developed on its own lines, and became a great missionary church, spreading through Central Asia as far as the frontiers of China. But, isolated as it was, it could not stand against the great wave of Mohammedanism. Had any idea of religious toleration prevailed, Nestorianism would hardly have become a definite schism, and would certainly not have developed into a permanent sect. It may be possible that some temporary advantage arose from the fact that it had to find an outlet in missionary enterprise, but, apart from that, the influence of disunion was disastrous. Mohammedanism could spread easily when its only opponent was a divided and isolated fragment of Christianity.

Even more instructive are the lessons taught by the Coptic, the Abyssinian, the Syrian Jacobite, and the Armenian heresies. There are two points to be noted. The first touches the doctrinal questions involved. During the fourth and fifth centuries Christianity had deeply penetrated the Egyptian people. As always happens in such cases, the national and racial characteristics began to express themselves through the new medium. First in Alexandria—a city which spoke Greek and read Greek philosophy but was yet half Egyptian—there grew up the Alexandrine type of Christology, mystical and redemptive in its character. Then in Upper Egypt and in the oases of the desert came the great wave of Monasticism, with some repulsive and some attractive features; inspired by a religious intensity which dwelt always on the divine and neglected the human element in life, which exhibited an increasing indifference to the world and its affairs, and yearned even here for union with the Deity. It was these influences which formed themselves into the Monophysite heresy. What is noticeable is the way in which the national temperament has impressed itself. Wherever the Christian religion takes a real hold upon any nation it is inevitable

that the national Christianity should exhibit most prominently just those features which correspond with the natural temperament. Then, if the Church is too anxious to condemn what is but the exaggeration of a particular view, it will cause isolation and separation. The national elements, instead of being harmonized and broadened by contact with other aspects of Christianity, will be exaggerated and stereotyped, and what ought only to have been an aspect of religious teaching will be hardened into a heresy. The first wave of enthusiasm often presents crude and unattractive features, as did Montanism in Phrygia, but a wholesome intercourse with the Christianity of other nations will, if it is allowed to go on, gradually correct this. But an excessive desire for a rigid orthodoxy will produce heresy and schism.

But there is a more important aspect of the national character of Egyptian Christianity. The Egyptian nation began to find itself again in the Christian religion. Suppressed under a Greco-Roman civilization, it seemed for a time to have lost itself. But the new religion stirred the emotions and roused the intellect of the people, and they learnt to express themselves in the new system of thought. They resented—as did the Syrian Christians, and to a somewhat less degree the Armenian—Greek rule, the Byzantine official and tax-collector. They became Jacobites, while they called the Orthodox and the Greek Melkites or "king's men." Heresy became a badge of nationality, Orthodoxy was identified with foreign domination, and Egypt, resenting an alien rule and an alien Church, easily became a prey to the Mohammedan conqueror, who seemed to promise a tolerance which had not been found under a Christian Emperor.

Two lessons are taught us by the study of these heresies. The one is that an excessive desire for verbal orthodoxy defeats its own ends. The temperament which is too anxious to condemn any aberrations from what it holds to be the correct expression of the truth creates these divisions which a more sympathetic treatment would prevent. Orthodoxy becomes the enemy of Catholicity. The second is that persecution by the secular power damages fatally the religion

which it is intended to support. It associates it with all that is unpopular in the government. It often makes a rival religion the badge of a national revolt. It divides churches by race and nation. It strengthens heresy by uniting it with nationalism.

This conflict of Catholicism and Nationalism is one which meets us again and again in the history of Christianity, and it may be noticed here how the Orthodox Eastern Church seems to have solved this problem more nearly than other branches of Christianity. The unity of belief, of custom, and of constitution, in the different branches of the Eastern Church is remarkable. Equally remarkable is the difference of temperament exhibited by the Russian, the Roumanian, the Serbian, the Bulgarian, and the Greek. All these, in the absence of an excessive centralization, have been able to develop as national Churches, preserving their spiritual unity, and in this particular, at any rate, might well be looked upon as a model and example which other nations might follow.

II

The second great fact which meets us is the schism of East and West.

During the first two centuries of the Christian era Christianity was mainly a Greek religion. The great bulk of theological writing even in the West was Greek, and its adherents must have been mainly among the Greek slaves, the freedmen and tradesmen who formed such a considerable section of the population of Western cities. It was in Africa first that an indigenous Latin-speaking Church developed, and a native theology which from the beginning had marked characteristics of its own. Gradually the differences between East and West asserted themselves. If we compare Tertullian and Cyprian with Clement and Origen the contrast becomes apparent. It was, however, not until the fourth century, and until the writings of St. Augustine had appeared, that a new theology could be created which reflected the tone of Western thought and harmonized with its temperament. Here was a Christian teaching about the orthodoxy of which there could be no

doubt, which yet presented the Gospel message in a form very different from anything which an Eastern theologian could teach. An analysis of the difference does not concern us now; it is sufficient to remind you that it is probably to the theology of St. Augustine that many of the characteristics of modern European thought, not only religious but philosophical, are due. For the predominant, although not, of course, the sole, characteristic of Western thought has been the emphasis that it has laid on the individual, and ultimately it is with the destiny of the individual that the theology of St. Augustine, and in particular his doctrine of grace, is concerned.

The important point for our investigation is that the West created its own line of theological thought, and thus added another difference in addition to those of national and racial temperament between these two branches of Christianity. There is, however, no reason why this in itself should have produced a permanent schism. The two methods of thought might well have continued side by side with one another. Only it means that the West had attained its independence and might think it no longer needed Eastern help to teach it what Christianity was.

A second influence which might make division easy and perhaps inevitable was the political separation of East and West. For some centuries after the removal of the Empire to Constantinople Rome continued to look to what was nominally still the Roman Empire for support. It only rarely succeeded in finding it. Gradually the new nations of the West became stronger and more civilized. The West increased in strength as the East declined. The Popes learnt to seek help from the nations of the north, until at last Leo III., by summoning Charlemagne to his assistance and placing the imperial crown on his head in St. Peter's on Christmas Day, 800, revived the Western Empire. Henceforth the West was politically independent of the East, and it is not without significance that it was shortly after this great event that the first definite rupture between the two Churches occurred. It is, of course, true that there was nothing in this political separation which need have caused a religious division, but the pride of the Bishop

of Rome naturally swelled when he felt himself entirely independent of the Eastern Emperor, and the Emperor must have bitterly resented the revolt of the West from his jurisdiction, even if the power he had exercised had been merely nominal. Again, there was no cause here for schism, but there were conditions which made it easier for it to come, if a real cause arose.

A third cause, and one which still remains as the most distinctive sign of the division between East and West, was the interpolation of the *filioque* clause into the Creed and the doctrine of the Double Procession, as it is called. I need not remind you here that the question at issue, stated in its simplest terms, was whether the Third Person of the Trinity could be more correctly described, with the Greeks, as proceeding from the Father, or, with the Latins. as proceeding from the Father and the Son. Nor need I attempt to estimate how far if at all real and important differences of principle might be considered to be involved in what seems at first sight a verbal and barren dispute. The important fact is that, as a matter of fact, the one form of expression was generally adopted by Western theologians, the other by Easterns. While the Greeks laid emphasis on the importance of realizing that there is one first principle in the Godhead, the Latins were anxious to emphasize the equality of the Father and the Son, as both alike the source whence flowed the Spirit. It is difficult for us to feel any reality in these speculations. I think, however, that we ought to realize the natural desire of a thoughtful Christian to learn all that might be learnt of the Nature of God, and how easy it was, in times when learning had declined, with the assistance of faulty methods of exegesis and fanciful speculation to elaborate a system of knowledge which was verbal and not real in its character.

There were in this dispute two questions at issue. The one was theological, the question what was the right solution of this abstruse problem. It may be safely said that this alone could never have caused difficulties, and subsequent history has shewn that agreement is easy. It is to the great Greek theologian St. John of Damascus that we owe a formulary which is acceptable to both sides. He taught

that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father through the Son, and these words have been accepted as combining both statements.[1] They were adopted at the Council of Florence in the fifteenth century[2] and again at the Bonn

[1] S. Joannis Damasceni, *De Fide Orthodoxa* i. 12, *τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐκφαντορικὴ τοῦ κρυφίου τῆς θεότητος δύναμις τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκ πατρὸς μὲν δι' υἱοῦ ἐκπορευομένη. Ib.*, *υἱοῦ δὲ πνεῦμα, οὐχ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον. Cont. Manich.* 5, *διὰ τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον.*

[2] Mansi, *Conciliorum Collatio*, xxxi. 1027-1032. "Convenientes enim Latini et Graeci in hac sacrosancta oecumenica synodo, magno studio invicem usi sunt, ut inter alia etiam articulus ille de divina Spiritus Sancti processione summa cum diligentia et assidua inquisitione discuteretur. Prolatis vero testimoniis ex divinis scripturis, plurimisque auctoritatibus sanctorum doctorum orientalium et occidentalium, aliquibus quidem ex Patre et Filio, quibusdam vero ex Patre per Filium procedere dicentibus Spiritum, et ad eamdem intelligentiam aspicientibus omnibus sub diversis vocabulis; Graeci quidem asseruerunt quod id quod dicunt Spiritum Sanctum ex Patre procedere, non hac mente proferunt ut excludant Filium; sed quia eis videbatur, ut aiunt, Latinos asserere Spiritum ex Patre et Filio procedere tanquam ex duobus principiis et duabus spirationibus, ideo abstinuerunt a dicendo quod Spiritum Sanctum ex Patre Filioque procedere, ut excludant Patrem quin sit fons et principium totius deitatis, Filii scilicet ac Spiritus Sancti; aut quod id, quod Spiritus Sanctus procedit ex Filio, Filius a Patre non habeat; sive quod duo ponant esse principia seu duas spirationes; sed unum tantum asserant esse principium, unicamque Spiritus Sancti, prout hactenus asseruerunt. Et cum ex his omnibus unus et idem eliciatur veritatis sensus, tandem in infrascriptam sanctam et Deo amabilem eodem sensu eademque mente unionem unanimiter concordarunt et consenserunt. In nomine igitur sanctae Trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, hoc sacro universali approbante Florentino concilio diffinimus, ut haec fidei veritas ab omnibus Christianis credatur et suscipiatur, sicque omnes profiteantur, quod Spiritus Sanctus ex Patre et Filio aeternaliter est et essentiam suam suumque esse subsistens habet ex Patre simul et Filio et ex utroque aeternaliter tamquam ab uno principio et unica spiratione procedit; declarantes quod id quod sancti doctores et patres dicunt ex Patre per Filium procedere Spiritum Sanctum, ad hanc intelligentiam tendit; ut per hoc significetur, Filium quoque esse secundum Graecos quidem causam, secundum Latinos vero principium subsistentiae Spiritus Sancti, sicut et Patrem. Et quoniam omnia quae Patris sunt, Pater ipse unigenito Filio suo gignendo dedit, praeter esse Patrem, hoc ipsum quod Spiritus Sanctus procedit ex Filio, ipse Filius a Patre aeternaliter habet a quo etiam aeternaliter genitus est."

It may be remarked that the Council of Florence, even when it recognizes the reasonableness of the Greek position, ends with a strong assertion of the Western point of view. It may be studied with great profit as shewing admirably the wrong way of attempting to create Christian unity.

The decree proceeds: "Diffinimus insuper explicationem verborum illorum Filioque, veritatis declarandae gratia et imminente tunc necessitate, licite et rationabiliter symbolo fuisse appositam."

Conference of the nineteenth, which was held under the presidency of the great Old Catholic theologian, Dr. Döllinger, and was attended by representatives of the Eastern and Anglican Churches, and they may be held to give a solution which will satisfy the conscience of East and West alike.[1]

But what brought this subject into the arena of practical religious life and made it such a cause of contention was the interpolation of the Creed by the Western Church. The Council of Chalcedon, when it put forward a creed which was accepted as Oecumenical by the whole Church, East and West, condemned not only those who did not accept it, but also those who put forward any other faith or creed. But this was just what had been done by altering the accepted symbol. We are not fully acquainted with the process by which the change came about. It was perhaps at the third Council of Toledo in 589, when the Gothic King Reccared renounced Arianism in the name of his nation, that the Creed was first recited in its interpolated form. At any rate, in the centuries that follow, the words *filioque* gradually crept into the Creed as it was received in the Churches of Spain, Gaul, and Britain. There is no reason for thinking that this was an intentional change; rather it came from the influence of Western theological phraseology.

In the eighth century the doctrine became a subject of dispute between the Eastern and Western Churches. The insertion was defended by Paulinus, Bishop of Aquileia,

[1] The following is the summary accepted by the Bonn Conference: "We accept the teaching of St. John Damascene on the Holy Ghost, as it is expressed in the following paragraphs in the sense of the teaching of the ancient undivided Church.

1. The Holy Ghost issues out of the Father, as the Beginning (ἀρχή), the Cause (αἰτία), the Source (πηγή), of the Godhead.

2. The Holy Ghost does not issue out of the Son (ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ) because there is in the Godhead but one Beginning (ἀρχή), one Cause (αἰτία), through which all that is in the Godhead is produced.

3. The Holy Ghost issues out of the Father through the Son.

4. The Holy Ghost is the Image of the Son, who is the Image of the Father, issuing out of the Father and resting in the Son as His revealing power.

5. The Holy Ghost is the personal production out of the Father, belonging to the Son, but not out of the Son, because He is the Spirit of the mouth of God declarative of the Word.

6. The Holy Ghost forms the link between the Father and the Son, and is linked to the Father by the Son.

the well-known theologian at the court of Charlemagne, and became a subject of acute controversy at the beginning of the next century.

The incident shews how a question which might seem of merely theological import became one of popular controversy when translated into worship. The Latin monks at Jerusalem, where they had certain privileges granted, through the friendship between the Emperor Charlemagne and the Caliph Haroun-ul-Raschid, were accused of heresy, because they chanted the Creed in the manner in which it was sung in the Emperor's chapel. They were supported by a council held at Aix-la-Chapelle. The matter was then referred to Rome, and it is interesting to remark the correct answer of Leo III. He approved, indeed, of the doctrine, but no alteration could be allowed in the symbol, no change should be made in the decision of a council illuminated by the Holy Spirit. It was not necessary that all doctrine should be contained in the Creed. The article in particular on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit belonged to those truths which not all could be expected to understand, and are necessary for salvation only for those who can understand them. Further, we are told that he set up in the basilica of St. Peter two silver shields on which the Creed was inscribed in Greek and Latin in its uninterpolated form.[1] We may certainly admire both the correctness and the wisdom of the Pope's reply, and can only regret that when the dispute arose between Nicholas I. and Photius of Constantinople the Roman Church had forgotten its history and was prepared to defend the addition of these words.[2]

[1] Mansi, xiv. 17-22. This gives an account of a conference between the envoys of Charlemagne and Leo III. on the interpretation of the Creed. It is admitted as follows by both sides:

Quia erga utrisque notum est, quod ideo a vobis ut id symbolum cantando vel scribendo inseratur illicitum ducatur vel dicatur, quia illi qui symbolum condiderunt non indiderunt ut cetera (*sic*), et sequentes principales synodi, Chalcedonensis scilicet quarta, Constantinopolitana quoque quinta et sexta, ut novum ultra symbolum a quoquam qualibet necessitate seu salvandi homines devotione condere, et in veteribus tollendo, addendo, mutandove quicquam inserere prohibuerunt, non est ibi diutius immorandum.

This text is clearly corrupt and demands emendation, but its meaning is clear.

[2] The history of this interpolation may be studied most conveniently in Burns, *An Introduction to the Creeds*, pp. 114-119.

It is not likely, however, that even this subject of dispute would have caused the schism of which it has become the symbol if there had not been another and more vital question at issue. It is probable, indeed, that without this other motive the formal adoption of the interpolated creed in the West would never have taken place. This vital cause culminated in the ninth century. It was the claim made by Rome to exercise jurisdiction over the Eastern Church, and particularly over the See of Constantinople.

It is needless to remark that the character of the position ascribed to the See of Rome in the earlier centuries is a matter of controversy, and it is unlikely that any agreement on the subject will be arrived at as long as it remains so. It was an Apostolic See, the only Apostolic See in the West; it was situated in the capital city of the Empire, the city from which that Empire had sprung and which had given a name to its traditions; its founder had been St. Peter, who undoubtedly occupied a position of primacy (whatever that might imply) among the Apostles. A primacy and perhaps some undefined authority was given to the See. Disputants from the East or elsewhere sought its support in controversy or disputes, as they did that of other patriarchates, and when the advice of Peter was on their side they hailed it with satisfaction. In a dispute between two Patriarchs, between Constantinople or Antioch and Alexandria, it was natural that Rome should be appealed to as arbitrator, and the opinion of the Bishop of Rome carried great weight in a general council. All this is true; but it is equally true that no claim to jurisdiction was ever recognized by the Eastern Patriarchs, or, with the doubtful exception of the Council of Sardica, by the Eastern Church. It may be doubted how far such claims had ever really been made by the Bishops of Rome themselves over the East.

But a definite change came. It is a significant fact that the first real break between East and West occurred shortly after the composition and publication of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, and that it was just at that time that Nicholas I. made in East and West alike claims which were recognized as novel. Whether he was acquainted with these Decretals and actually appealed to their support

must remain at present a doubtful question.[1] We need not discuss here the intricate and unedifying story of the quarrel between Photius and Ignatius, the rival Patriarchs of Constantinople, which was the cause of papal interference. It is sufficient to assert that when he supported the appeal of Ignatius Nicholas I. was right, as he was when he rebuked Carlovingian immorality, but that does not necessarily justify his claim to exercise full ecclesiastical authority in Constantinople, his rebuke of the Emperor for holding a Council without his consent, and his right to exercise jurisdiction on the subject in dispute. He put forward pretensions for which the Greeks could find no justification in ecclesiastical law, and which they bitterly resented. From this time began the period in which the two Churches were ever ready to anathematize one another, and many purely frivolous subjects of controversy were dragged into the disputes; but the cause of ill-feeling was the claim of the Pope to exercise jurisdiction over the Patriarch and the resentment which that not unnaturally created.

The breach which began in the ninth century was completed in the eleventh. The ostensible cause of dispute was trivial, and largely turned on the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, but this only concealed the real reason of the quarrel, the rivalry of the two Patriarchs. No doubt Michael Cerularius was anxious to increase and extend his power, while on the other side Leo IX. did not waive any of his pretensions. "You are making an attack upon me on a matter on which neither you nor any other mortal is entitled to sit in judgement," were his words.[2] The papal legates at

[1] For the letters of Nicolas see *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolarum, Tomi VI., Partis Alterius, Fasciculus I. Karolini Aevi IV. Nicolai Papae Epistolae.* Berolini, 1912.

The question of indebtedness to the Pseudo-Decretals is discussed by Paul Fournier, " Études sur les Fausses Décrétales. V. : Les Fausses Décrétales et le Saint Siège—1. Le Pontificat de Nicolas I." (*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, viii., 1907, p. 19).

M. Fournier finds that Nicolas was acquainted with the Decretals and referred to them, but that they did not alter his opinion on the claims of the Roman Church. That may be true. It is also true that they enabled those claims to be asserted with much greater appearance of authority and in a manner which caused the most bitter resentment on the part of the East.

[2] Mansi, *Concilia* xix. 641. Incauta, impudenti arrogantia adeo caecati, ut non animadveritatis quid et qui faciatis et cui. Illi nempe

Constantinople excommunicated the Patriarch by placing on the altar of his own church during the divine liturgy the sentence of condemnation, and in a council held in 1054 Michael Cerularius replied and wrote an account to the other Eastern Patriarchs. The breach was final. Other matters can be dragged in, but the fundamental cause of difference between the two Churches has been that the Roman Church claims an authority and jurisdiction which the Eastern Church absolutely and deliberately refuses to recognize.

The division between Eastern and Western Christendom is a striking illustration of the evil of disunion. It compelled two different types of Christianity to remain isolated from one another without any opportunity of mutual influence. Each represented the development of particular elements in the gospel. Both were imperfect. A healthy intercourse might have benefited both. But in consequence of this schism the Latin and Greek forms of Christianity became finally stereotyped.

But the political result was an even greater disaster. To it we may ascribe the inadequate resistance which was offered to the advance of Mohammedanism; the failure of the Crusades; that most deplorable and discreditable exhibition of Western violence, the Latin conquest of Constantinople, and the destruction of an ancient civilization which it began; and the fatal blow thus struck against the power which had been for centuries the bulwark of civilization and Christianity in the East. When the end came and the last assaults of the Turks were delivered, the Byzantine Empire, weakened, isolated, and rent with religious discord, could offer no resistance. Even in its last needs the Council of Florence was used to extract a formal submission from a weakened adversary. The papal claims never shewed any abatement.

But a second lesson, and one of great importance to our investigations, is that this division really makes impossible the application of the old theory that one actual existing

facitis praeiudicium de quo nec vobis nec cuilibet mortalium licet facere iudicium.

The claims of Rome over Constantinople are fully set out in the letter of Leo, *op. cit.*, pp. 635-656.

body could be found which could claim to be called the Church, and that no other religious society had any right to that name. Of course if your mind is obsessed by the Roman theory you are capable of believing that the whole body of Eastern Christianity, equal in antiquity, undoubted in orthodoxy, having all the marks which theology has considered notes of Catholicity, distinguished above all Churches for its sufferings on behalf of Christ, has no claim to the title of Church, and is a schismatic body and the legitimate subject of proselytizing enterprise. Again, I believe that ingenious divines have attempted to enumerate the number of bishops in East and West at the time of the schism, have satisfied themselves that the number of those in the East was somewhat larger than in the West, and on these grounds have decided that the East represented the true Church, and that the whole of the West must be considered schismatic. I do not think that such a method of argument will appeal to us.[1]

If we attempt, as I think we can, to look at the question from a somewhat detached point of view, we shall feel that such theories are impossible. I have pointed out to you that up to this time it had been apparently legitimate to use such arguments in the controversies of the Church. The society which claimed to be the Catholic Church was one and universally distributed, and the separated bodies were small, and for the most part local. It might seem not unreasonable for it to claim to be the true Church and designate all other Christians as schismatics. I suggested to you also that even then it could not be considered an

[1] Palmer (*A Treatise on the Church of Christ*, by the Rev. William Palmer, M.A., of Worcester College, Oxford. Third Edition, Rivington, London, 1842, vol. i., p. 164) writes:

"There is no reason to suppose that the Western Church was greater than the Eastern at the period of separation, or that the number of its bishops exceeded those of the Eastern Church. The ancient Churches of the countries which were at this time divided between the Eastern and Western Churches were about equally numerous on each side."

This numerical method of arriving at truth by counting heads seems somewhat artificial, but the conclusion arrived at that both sides were equally schismatical may be considered satisfactory on other grounds. We understand, however, why Newman said that he could not have written this work.

entirely satisfactory theory, at any rate when held as Cyprian or Augustine seemed to hold it, leading as it did to such marvellous statements as that a man in schism who laid down his life for Christ could have no hope of salvation. But since the division of East and West any such theory is impossible. We cannot say that one or other is the true Church, and that all other bodies are outside the fold. If you look at the causes of division undoubtedly the Western Church was primarily to blame, both at the time of the division, and always since. I suppose that there is no point in theology which you can say more definitely is wrong than the addition of the *filioque* to the creed. Nor can there be any doubt both on historical and theological grounds that the claim made first in so definite a form by Nicholas I., and renewed on all subsequent occasions since, that the Roman Church should exercise jurisdiction over the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Churches of the East, was wrong. The West was wrong on the main points at issue. But anyone who reads the attacks made by Michael Cerularius on the Western Church will undoubtedly feel that he is up against a narrow and intolerant exposition of Christianity. The attitude of the East on the minor points of the controversy may be comprehensible and even excusable, but it too was certainly wrong.

Here, then, was a division where each side retained all the essential elements of Christianity and all those characteristics which the custom and voice of the Church had defined as Catholic. The causes of division were partly deep natural differences of temperament and thought, partly political. They may be held to be largely out of the control of the disputants. The occasions arose from faults and mistakes on both sides. The division was exaggerated and intensified by the decline of civilization, and of the opportunities of intercourse. We cannot say that either side was exclusively to blame, we cannot say that one is the true Church and the other the schismatic. The same problem will be presented to us by many later events, and will compel us to revise our definitions and consider more carefully what we mean by the Church and what we mean by schism.

III

I pass now to the Medieval Church. Neither time nor space will allow me to dwell on it with the detail which was necessary in the study of the first beginnings of Christianity. I shall have to content myself with considering the new conceptions that it evolved of the nature and constitution of the Church and the influence that it exercised on the unity and divisions of Christendom.

The fundamental fact is the growth of the Papacy and the transformation of the Church into a society with many of the characteristics of a temporal state. This was accompanied and largely facilitated by the change in the status of the clergy. Instead of being the ministers of the Church, they came, through the new theory of ordination which grew out of the teaching of St. Augustine, to be looked upon as the possessors of mystical and supernatural powers. The rule of compulsory celibacy was established. In the decay of learning they became the sole representatives of education, almost the only men who could read and write, and this increased their authority in an ignorant world. The stronger emphasis laid on the sacramental element in Christianity, and the tendency in the midst of a prevalent barbarism for an almost magical power to be ascribed to the priest, gave him a considerable spiritual, and in consequence also temporal, influence. The Papacy had at its disposal a large and disciplined army with authority over the lives and souls of men, working for the most part for the benefit of the community and helping the nobler elements in society to build up order out of chaos.

It is the Papacy that we must dwell upon for the moment. We cannot pursue the stages of its growth and development; it will be sufficient to present the theory that was ultimately attained, and this may be given us best by the definition of the Council of Florence. It is a formal statement representing the culmination of medieval belief. It is of particular interest as embodying the claims imposed upon the Orthodox Patriarchs and, although accepted for a moment,

ultimately rejected almost unanimously by the united voice of the peoples of the East:

" Further we define that the Holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff hold the primacy over the whole world and that the Roman Pontiff himself is the successor of the blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and the true Vicar of Christ and head of the whole Church, and the pastor and teacher of all Christians: and that to him in the person of the blessed Peter the full authority of feeding, ruling and governing the universal Church was delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ, as is contained in the acts of the Oecumenical Councils and in the Sacred Canons."[1]

There were probably two chief causes which led to this growth of the Papacy: the one was the demand for unity, the other the desire on the part of the ablest men of the time to promote the efficiency and purity of the Church, the reform and well-being of society. At the time of the fall of the Western Empire all centralized power was destroyed; there was great danger of the complete effacement of order and civilization, and the Bishop of Rome found himself in a position of opportunity and authority. The invaders of the Empire were either already Christians or, attracted by the glamour and power of the Church, ready to be converted. They would respect the spiritual authority of the clergy rather than any civil rule, and the bishops stood out as teachers of a higher life. The Roman See, when held by a man of ability at many successive periods, became the champion of the law of righteousness, and it was natural that able and good men should in such a position aim at increasing the power which seemed so beneficent, and that many men everywhere, with the well-being of society at heart and feeling the evil the world was suffering from, should help them in their efforts. The rise of the Papacy in the early Middle Ages is

[1] " Item diffinimus sanctam apostolicam sedem et Romanum pontificem in universum orbem tenere primatum, et ipsum pontificem Romanum successorem esse beati Petri principis Apostolorum et verum Christi vicarium totiusque ecclesiae caput et omnium Christianorum pastorem ac doctorem existere et ipsi in beato Petro pascendi, regendi, ac gubernandi universalem ecclesiam a domino nostro Jesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse; quemadmodum etiam in gestis oecumenicorum conciliorum et in sacris canonibus continetur " (Mansi, xxxi. 1031).

entirely rational and largely admirable; but if such a development takes place in a manner inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, contrary to its true teaching and founded largely on error, the ultimate result may be injurious. We may admire Gregory I. and Nicholas I. and Gregory VII., and feel that in the crises of history in which they found themselves they acted as great men, but the transformation in the character of Christianity brought about by the Papacy will remain an error and a disaster.

We may examine its practical results and its theological sanction. The claim of the Papacy is that it promoted Christian unity. The verdict of history must be that it has been the most fruitful cause of dissension. The first assertion of the complete papal claim was the beginning of the greatest and most disastrous schism that the Church has known. We have already sketched the course of division between East and West. Not only did this schism cut off the West from contact with the Churches which had possessed independently the Catholic tradition, but the continuously asserted claim to proselytize the Churches of the East has everywhere divided Christianity. Roman claims have been asserted under the aegis of political power, and all the ancient Churches of the East have been divided by uniate schisms. Christianity has been weakened in the face of Mohammedanism.

Undoubtedly in the Western world one great centralized ecclesiastical state was created which for a time seemed an imposing example of unity, and was the parent of much good; but such a state could exist only by the forcible suppression of many wholesome instincts, of national feeling, and of religious aspirations, and the ultimate result of this attempt to build up an organized spiritual empire on the destruction of freedom was the reaction of the Reformation and that chaos of religious strife and confusion that Protestantism exhibits. The present divided state of the Western religious world is the direct result of the papal power.

A second claim of the Papacy would be to have promoted efficiency. We admire the vigorous action of Nicholas I. when he used the authority which he believed that he possessed to restrain the violent passions of the Carlovingian

princes. The great men of the Papacy worked for righteousness. But the periods of darkness and gloom were far longer than the spots of brightness. In an over-centralized system corruption at the centre poisons the whole body. How evil was the Papacy in the tenth and eleventh centuries! How disastrous the period of schism! And when the rising nations of a newer Europe were seeking to create a purer Church the Papacy, paganized and corrupt, became the greatest stumbling-block to reform. When it began to renew itself it was too late and the disaster was complete.

And these evil results have been inevitable because the Papacy has always presented a false view of Christianity. Its dogmatic view is inconsistent both with the teaching of the New Testament and the customs of primitive Christianity. The New Testament makes St. Peter the first of the Apostles, but it clearly represents him as subject to the authority of the Church. The Church of the Fathers gives a primacy of honour to the Roman Church, but it consistently refuses to grant it jurisdiction, and no claim to that was ever established until in an uncritical age the Pseudo-Decretals supplied an apparent sanction. No doubt the modern apologist would say that these false Decretals only expressed in a manner natural in those days that development of Christian polity which the time demanded, and the papacy is now prepared to kick away the steps by which it ascended, being based as it believes on the more sure foundation of infallibility. But the claim to jurisdiction was deeply resented: it could never have established itself without such support. These forgeries were necessary to give authority to a system fundamentally inconsistent with Christianity.[1]

For what the Papacy did was to make the kingdom of Christ a kingdom of the world. That the Church represents on earth one aspect of the kingdom that Christ preached, the sphere within which God's Spirit works, and the rule of Christ holds sway over men's consciences, has been maintained in these lectures; but that does not mean that the Church may be transformed into a temporal power. It is, as we have

[1] On the Roman claims see Gore, *Roman Catholic Claims;* Father Pullar, *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome;* and Robertson, *Roman Claims to Supremacy* (S.P.C.K.).

pointed out, instructive to notice that almost always, when we are particularly told that our Lord's words were directly addressed to the Twelve, it was to rebuke any attempt at supremacy. The kings of the Gentiles exercise authority. Their great ones have dominion over them. No such position is intended for the Christian minister. He is appointed to serve and not to rule. No ostentatious adoption of the name of servant on the part of one who calls himself the *Servus servorum Dei* will be an excuse for seizing power. Whenever Christianity, whether in the form of the Papacy, or the Episcopate, or the Presbyterian or Puritan divine, builds itself up on temporal power, whenever it seeks the authority of this world, it will injure its spiritual life. The Papacy as authority is inconsistent with the very essence of Christianity.

And, further, the Papacy means and always has meant the promotion of the Christian faith by other than Christian means. That rules must exist in the Christian community for the regulation of its affairs is a natural and necessary condition of organized life. There were customs in the Apostolic Church. But that is a different thing from imposing on all Christian people laws regulating belief and conduct. That is for the Church to adopt the methods of the State. The growth no doubt of Christian influence tends to make the legislature of the Christian state conform to Christian principles; the criminal laws of a Christian state will be different from those of pagans and Mohammedans; but nothing of this sort will justify legislation to promote the spread of Christianity by other than spiritual means, to interfere with the rights of conscience, to restrict freedom of opinion, to oppose Christian principles by force or any other temporal means. Again and again in its history the Papacy has adopted such methods and violated the rules which should guide Christian action. It has always demanded, and continues to demand, temporal power. If the opportunity occurs it is ready to call in the power of the State to increase its influence. It has often been sullied by allowing persecution. The same methods and the same conception of Christianity are still present and ready to assert themselves. At the present day the Roman Church

puts forward whenever it has the opportunity demands which violate the rights of other Christians, and will continue to act as a cause of strife and division.

IV

The fruits of the Medieval Papacy are the Reformation and the disunion of Christendom which resulted from it. It is certain salient features in this epoch and the transformation of ideas concerning the Church resulting from it that we have now to consider.

The student of Church history who is distracted and saddened by the record of such constantly recurring periods of discord as it presents turns with relief to those times and places where more humane ideals have been allowed for a short time to prevail, and such he may find in the new movement which began in Oxford before the world-cataclysm of the Reformation. In 1496 Colet returned to Oxford from Florence and Italy a student of Greek and the Bible, a devotee of humane letters, eager to preach the Gospel and ardently desirous to promote reform. In Oxford and England a body of scholars learnt to develop ideals and methods by which they might hope through the gentle and quiet influence of reason to solve the ecclesiastical problems of the day. In England Erasmus learnt those principles to which he consistently adhered throughout his life, the desire to reform not by the road of violence and revolution but by the sober methods of revived learning. "The study of the life of Christ would undoubtedly produce that reform in life which would mean the reform of the Church." "If princes will not admit wise counsels, if churches prefer the authority of the world to that of Christ, if theologians and monks will not relinquish the synagogue, there is one path left. Sow the good seed. A crop will come up. Educate youth. Encourage the study of antiquity. Religion without piety and learning without letters will vanish away."[1]

But the forces of revolution were too great, the powers

[1] On this movement see especially Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*. I have discussed its influence in "Methods of Early Church History," published in *History, Authority, and Theology*, p. 232.

of revolt too strong, the errors of religion and life too deeply involved for reformation to be confined to such methods, and Luther, when, one year after the publication of Erasmus' Greek Testament, he nailed his theses on the door of the church at Wittenberg, was letting loose forces too long suppressed which reason could not now restrain nor moderation satisfy. On all sides opinions were promulgated which no doubt had their origin in the study of the Bible and of Christian antiquity and drew their inspiration from it, but whose character was mainly determined by an opposition often extravagant to the extreme opinions which had been forced on the Church. Against the doctrine of the visible Church as presented in the Papacy was formulated the theory of an invisible Church; against the domination of the medieval prelate, the more democratic system of Presbyterianism; against the claim of the Papacy to be superior to all Christian monarchs, the monstrous tenet that a man's religious views must be determined by the opinions of the secular sovereign in whose territory he dwelt; against the exaggerated sacramentalism of the Middle Age, the meagre doctrines of Zwinglianism; against Sacerdotalism, Protestantism; against a system of works which had become dead, a doctrine of justification by faith which might become antinomian; against an authority which attempted to control the whole of human life, a claim to private judgement which might seem anarchical.

I do not know if it displays an undue amount of self-satisfaction on the part of a devoted member of the English Church to claim that the work of the early Oxford Reformers was not in vain. In spite of its faults and limitations there has been a spirit of reasonableness exhibited in the formation and history of the Church of England. The ideal of many of our Reformers had been the transformation of our institutions by an appeal to reason and history rather than the assertion of a rigid and narrow dogmatic standpoint. We have avoided any violent break with the past and have been singularly distrustful of a too narrow standpoint. There has always been in the Church of England a strain of tolerance and broad-mindedness, and this I cannot help thinking is because it has inherited something of the spirit of Colet,

the commentator on the Romans; of Grocyn, scholar of Winchester and Fellow of New College; of More, of Canterbury Hall, where Christ Church now stands; of Linacre, Fellow of All Souls College; of Erasmus, the Dutchman who came to England to learn from the early teachers and reformers of Oxford.

I believe, too, that some of these merits of our Church have been largely due to our training on a Greek as well as Latin basis. Not only from other points of view, but also largely from that of religious truth and learning, I feel that the disloyal abandonment by our universities and schools and by our educational authorities of Greek learning as the basis of education will mean disaster to the cause of theological truth. We do not want a new scholastic period. But I do not think the danger of it is slight. Critical and humanistic theology came in with the study of Greek. If you base the education of the country on Latin and science alone, I am afraid that you may build up a scientific, philosophic, and religious scholasticism even more arid and uninspiring than that of the Middle Ages.

There are three conceptions of the Church which owe their origin to the Reformation: the Lutheran doctrine of an invisible Church, the Calvinistic doctrine of Presbyterianism, and the typically English theory of Independency. The Lutheran doctrine seems to represent the somewhat mystical pietism which has been one of the best products of Germany. Calvinism corresponds to the somewhat rigorous logic of the Gallican nature. Independency or Congregationalism harmonizes with the exaggerated individualism of this country.

The doctrine of an invisible Church grew in definite opposition to the medieval theory of a visible Church. How could a body so corrupt, so worldly, be that Church which had been spoken of as the body and bride of Christ, the fulness of Him that all in all is being fulfilled? Clearly, it was held, it must be something different from that. The source of the new doctrine was no doubt St. Augustine's works. It was a conception which might be derived from them although it was not anything that he had himself held. It was the *coetus sanctorum*, the whole company

of the saints. The one Catholic Church was the assembly of all faithful Christians, who expect salvation from Christ; it was washed by His Blood, and was sanctified as such by His Spirit. Its unity is one of faith and love. Its continuity is the power to call forth faith. It is not dependent upon the clergy. It exists wherever men believe in the forgiveness of God and live in love with one another, wherever the Word of God is preached and the Sacraments are duly administered. The members of this Church are known to God and to Him only: they have only an imperfect knowledge of one another. It is not the same as the visible Church. That is a community of both good and bad. The bad are in the Church although they do not belong to its true membership. The Church of believers alone is the true Church Universal and Catholic.[1]

It will be seen how this theory appeared to solve for Reformation churches the question of Christian unity. There was now no longer any one visible Church. There were many separate societies which might bear the name of Church. Each of them might contain members of the true Church. That was one body; and all those notes of unity and purity which we find in the New Testament can be ascribed to it; for its members are all one in Christ. Also, as the Church was not dependent on its ministry, the ministry might vary. So at the present day in different churches which claim to be Lutheran the ministry varies; some are Episcopalian, some are not.

The rise of such a doctrine was natural, and it seemed to solve many questions. But it is not adequate. When we read the New Testament it becomes quite clear that it is no invisible society that the writers mean when they speak of the Church. It was a definite, concrete visible body. Moreover, Lutheranism has never succeeded in solving the relation between this invisible Church and the visible society.

[1] So the Augsburg Confession, 1531. Art. vii.: "Item docent, quod una sancta ecclesia perpetuo mansura sit. Est autem ecclesia congregatio sanctorum, in qua evangelium recte docetur, et recte administrantur sacramenta. Et ad veram unitatem ecclesiae, satis est consentire de doctrina evangelii et administratione sacramentorum. Nec necesse est ubique esse similes traditiones humanas, seu ritus aut ceremonias, ab hominibus institutas" (*Sylloge Confessionum*, Oxford, 1827, p. 125).

The true Church has external marks by which it may be recognized—the pure doctrine which is preached and the administration of Sacraments in accordance with the Gospel of Christ. It sometimes seems as if the external society is identified with the invisible Church.

This appears very much the case with Calvinism. Calvin seems to have held that there was one general visible Church. This Church is extended and scattered throughout the world, although united in one spirit and faith. It is the Church of those who are saved and there is no salvation apart from it. No one should separate himself from this society, and live apart, but hold to it against all others and preserve with care the unity of the Church, submit himself to its doctrine and discipline and bend his neck to the yoke of Christ. All men must separate themselves from those who are outside the Church, and must obey it against the decrees of the civil magistrates. All who separate themselves from it openly disobey the commands of God.

It is a matter of the greatest concern to know which is the true Church; for many societies assume this name. Its notes are that in it the pure Word of God is preached and the Sacraments are duly administered according to the commands of Christ; that it exhibits the right ecclesiastical discipline, that all its members do all things according to the Word of God and recognize Christ as the sole head.

The government of this Church should be spiritual and according to the Word of God. In it there are "pastors" and "teachers" who preach the pure Word of God and administer the Sacraments. The government of the Church is in the hands of elders or presbyters and deacons, who administer its discipline. All Christian ministers must be called to their office by a proper Church election with the fitting prayer and order. All Christian ministers are equal under Christ, the One Universal Bishop and Head of the Church.[1]

The system presented to us is that of a narrow, well-ordered society. A visible Church with a definite ministry of divine appointment. No other Church can claim to be true.

[1] "Confessio Belgica," xxvii.–xxxi. (*op. cit.*, pp. 344–348).

Independency was, as has been stated, a form of Church policy of purely English origin. Its first exponent was Robert Browne, and hence it became known in its earlier form as Brownism. It developed in opposition to the newly reformed English Church and to any parochial and territorial system. It inspired the Pilgrim Fathers, who were prevented by the State from forming their own religious societies, and therefore it became, but in a modified form, the earliest religious system of America; and during the Commonwealth the Independents formed the opposition against the spiritual tyranny of Presbyterianism.

It recognizes the Church in two forms: on the one side the Church which is the body of Christ, the whole company of the redeemed, an invisible society; on the other side the Church as a body of the faithful that meet together in the service of God. It is not parochial or territorial. The English parish contained many who were evil in their lives and in no way members of Christ's Church. A true Church is formed by the meeting together of those who believe in Christ and accept Him. When two or three meet together in Christ's Name He is in the midst of them. These constitute a Church. They have a right to exercise all true privileges of a Christian Society. They appoint their own officers and administer their own Sacraments. No other body has any authority over them. It is desirable that members of different Churches should meet together for advice and council, but no such combination can exercise any control over any independent society. Each society is independent, autonomous, complete. No one can add anything to it or take anything from it.[1]

Here we have the principle of the independence of each separate community in its most extreme form and the most direct contrast to the medieval Church systems. In these three forms of Church order—Lutheranism, Presbyterianism, and Independency—we have the three great changes made by the Reformation. The one substitutes the doctrine of an invisible Church for the visible Catholic Church, the

[1] An interesting exposition of these principles is that by John Owen, *An Inquiry into the Original Nature, Institution, Power, Order, and Government of Evangelical Churches* (London, 1681).

second attempts to build up in opposition to the medieval system a strongly organized democratic Church government, the third presents the principle of free combination and local independency in its most extreme form. This is the first great change, a change due to a spirit of reaction from the secularized Church of the Middle Ages and its transformation into a kingdom of this world.

A second result was the development of sectarianism in theology. Up to this time the Church had departed little, so far as formularies went, from the doctrinal standards of the undivided Church. The basis of belief was the Catholic Creed. It is true that, as has been recorded, an important and indefensible change had been made by the addition of the *filioque* clause. At the fourth Lateran Council again in 1215, as the result of one of the most unjust controversies which has ever degraded Christianity, Transubstantiation had become part of the official teaching of the Church, and it was not until the Council of Florence at the end of this period that any formal doctrinal sanction had been given to the claims of the Roman Bishop. Up till then it had been a part of the canon law but not a part of the Faith. It is true, indeed, that in all this period there was a wild prodigality of theological speculation, and that many additions had been made to the popular religion or superstitions; but the fact remains that formally the Creed of the Church was almost unchanged, and had a reformation arisen of the kind that Erasmus had imagined the accretions on Christian teaching and all the barbarism of the schoolmen might have melted away under the influence of humane letters, the methods of the new philosophy, the sober criticism of history, and the simple story of the Gospels.

But the actual methods of the Reformation changed all this. In order to protest against medievalism it began the process of codifying and defining medieval thought. Every definition which was intended to protect the Christian conscience against scholasticism really imposed upon it some measure of what it attacked. Each new church or society that grew up found it necessary to define its belief and position. The Roman Church in reply found it necessary also to defend itself, to condemn the heresies of those who

had separated from it, and to define its own beliefs. The result was the creation of a multitude of confessions and formularies in addition to the one Catholic Creed which had been the centre of union of the whole Church.

The difference in their character and influence as compared with the old Christian Creed has been profound in the history of modern Christianity. They were articles of division, the Creed was an article of union. It concentrated attention on the fundamental beliefs of Christianity: they argued out all questions on which difference of opinion might grow up. The result has been to burden the world with a number of formularies which have for the most part ceased to respond to the aspirations and beliefs of those societies which still appear tenaciously to cling to them. Then these articles, some more, some less, attempted to cover the whole ground of Christian life and position. They are long, sometimes very long, amounting to theological treatises. Some, like the Calvinistic articles, are constructed with the aim of excluding any who deviate however slightly from strict orthodoxy; others, like our Thirty-nine Articles, aim rather at inclusion, but all alike contain many things which can in no way be described as necessary for salvation. I do not doubt that one of the first steps towards Christian union must be to recognize that these formularies are all obsolete.[1]

A third result of the Reformation was the transformation of the Roman Church. It had been the Catholic Church. It became a sectarian society. The process began at the Council of Trent. That Council was summoned to reform the Church. There were hopes that it might have so acted as to put an end to schism and separation, and there were moments and parties which might have accomplished much in that direction. But it met too late, and Italian influences won the day. It met at Trent, a German city under the

[1] So Erasmus writes (I owe the quotation to Curtis, *History of Creeds and Confessions*, p. 418): "The Christian creed began to reside in writings rather than in men's minds, and there were wellnigh as many faiths as there were men. Articles grew but sincerity declined. Contention boiled over, charity was frozen. The doctrine of Christ, a stranger formerly to battles over words, came to be made dependent on defences of philosophy. This was the first downward step towards the ruin of the Church. At last it came to sophistical contentions: thousands of articles of faith rushed into publicity."

jurisdiction of the Emperor, but situated so near Italy that an Italian majority and papal influence was secured. It accomplished a considerable amount of reform and made the Roman Church an efficient and well-managed society. Many medieval abuses and some superstitions were swept away. But it transformed the Catholic Church of the West into the Roman Church. Instead of presenting to the aggressive sectarianism of the separated bodies an example of historical catholicity, it followed their example by modifying and narrowing its creed. The decrees of the Council of Trent lay down a well-considered and coherent doctrinal system, but in doing so narrow fatally the basis of Church union. They built up a well-ordered separated society which can never hope, so long as its basis remains as it is, to be more than one among a number of competing units. While asseverating more loudly than ever before its claim to be the one Catholic Church, it is cut off from the hope of being the centre of Christian unity.

This process was helped by the growth of religious persecution. The medieval Church had already used the civil power to suppress religious error. The Pope claimed to have the right to authorize the subjects of any heretical ruler to revolt from him and to release them from their oath of allegiance. The natural result was the penal laws against Catholics. Persecution bred persecution. Both sides appealed to arms, and, as invariably happens in such cases, all power passed into the hands of the more violent elements. The rise of the Society of Jesus strengthened the extreme party, brought great devotion to the cause of the Church, and made it from certain points of view a highly efficient body; but the Jesuits alienated as much as they attracted, and emphasized just those elements which would separate the Church most effectually not only from healthy human aspirations but also from large sections of Christianity.

To the Council of Trent is due another movement, instituted no doubt with the most admirable intentions for reform, but probably ultimately disastrous to the well-being of the Church and its influence on the world. A wise observer is reported to have said that by the institution of ecclesiastical seminaries the Council exercised greater influence than

by any other of its decrees. Up to that time the clergy had been educated in the universities; they were in touch and sympathy with whatever learning there was in the world and were not out of touch with other developments of human life. It is remarkable and deplorable that just at the moment when the influence of learning on life was becoming greater and there was a greater need for an educated clergy a decree should have been issued which would insure that all the priests of the Roman Church should be brought up in a narrow system of thought and learning, alien from all reality, and the division between religion and reality should begin.

It is still more remarkable that at the present day the English episcopate incapable of reading the lessons of history should have determined to impose the same system on the English Church. Up to now the chief home of theological instruction for the Church of England has been the universities. Now, when all other religious bodies are hastening there to get what they can, the whole efforts of a majority of the English episcopate are being directed to prevent a theological training under the influence of universities.

The process began in the sixteenth century was completed at the Vatican Council of 1870. There were still some stones in the structure of the Roman Church which had not been laid in their places at Trent. There had been much dispute as to whether the authority of bishops came direct from our Lord Jesus Christ, or only immediately through the Bishop of Rome. The bishops of France and Spain, who adhered to the Catholic tradition, were too strong for the innovators and the matter had to be shelved. The relation of the Pope to a General Council had not been settled. His personal infallibility had not been defined. All these defects were remedied by the dogma promulgated in 1870. The Pope was made superior to a General Council, and it was decreed that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*—that is, when, fulfilling the functions of pastor and doctor of all Christians by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines the doctrine of faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, through the divine assistance promised to him in the person of the blessed Peter—is

strengthened by that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer wished His Church to be equipped in defining doctrine concerning faith and morals; and that therefore the definitions of that Roman Pontiff are irreformable in themselves and not by consent of the Church.[1]

V

We have reviewed in a manner necessarily imperfect and cursorily the characteristics of those epochs in Church history which have produced the great divisions of Christianity. We must ask now what are the main causes which have created such divisions; why, when the great body of Christians were able to remain united for some thousand years, and whatever schisms arose during that period were for the most part small or temporary, there should now be this immense and disastrous state of disunion.

It is, of course, obvious that opinions on religious points must vary. Different churches and different times are influenced by different aspects of the Gospel. Particular nations and peoples have exhibited under the form of Christianity their more prominent racial characteristics. But the variations which thus arise will rarely be important enough in themselves to cause divisions: they will generally be transitory and ephemeral. The question rather is how comes it that there should be these tremendous separations amongst men who all alike draw their inspiration from the same sacred books and are adherents of the same Lord and Master. It is not a question why some should and some should not accept Christ, but why when men have accepted

[1] "Itaque Nos traditioni a fidei Christianae exordio perceptae fideliter inhaerendo, ad Dei Salvatoris nostri gloriam, religionis Catholicae exaltationem et Christianorum populorum salutem, sacro approbante Concilio, docemus et divinitus revelatum dogma esse definimus: Romanum Pontificem, cum ex Cathedra loquitur id est, cum omnium Christianorum Pastoris et Doctoris munere fungens pro suprema sua Apostolica auctoritate doctrinam de fide vel moribus ab universa Ecclesia tenendam definit, per assistentiam divinam, ipsi in beato Petro promissam, ea infallibilitate pollere, qua divinus Redemptor Ecclesiam suam in definienda doctrina de fide vel moribus instructam esse voluit: ideoque ejusmodi Romani Pontificis definitiones ex sese, non autem ex consensu Ecclesiae, irreformabiles esse. Si quis autem huic nostrae definitioni contradicere, quod Deus avertat, praesumpserit; anathema sit."

Him they should exhibit such irreconcilable opposition to one another, and should not remain one and united as loyal servants to their Master.

I would venture as a conclusion to our lecture of to-day to suggest the following reasons.

The first is the substitution for the Christian Creed as the basis of union of a number of propositions on many disputed points. In the undivided Church the one dogmatic formula which was imposed was the Creed. It concentrated men's minds on the fundamental faith upon which Christianity was based, the worship of one God, the life and death of Christ and the revelation through Him, the Spirit, the Church, eternal life. The centre of its teaching is Christ. As early as the fifth century there was a certain over-tendency to define and it was reflected in the first great divisions. The interpolations of the Creed in an unauthorized manner caused the schisms of East and West. It was the attempt made by the medieval Church to substitute for the practice of faith in Christ a complicated, rigid, and unyielding system of theology and life, and to impose this on every man, that ultimately caused the Reformation. It was the continuance of this process in even more rigid ways that stereotyped the divisions. Where there had been one system of thought there now sprung up many. Volumes are filled with the confessions of faith thus produced. Until the Church is prepared to be content with the Christian Creed and dispense with articles, formularies of faith, confessions, decrees of councils, defining all those things which need not be defined, these divisions will continue.

A second reason that I would give is the attempt to propagate truth and reform error by unspiritual means. The schisms of the fourth and following centuries became far more serious because the power of the State was used to create union. It was persecution which consolidated Donatism and turned the dissentients of Egypt and Syria into permanent separated bodies. During the Middle Ages a strong temporal power preserved the external unity of the State for many centuries, but it did so by suppressing movements which when they burst forth were all the stronger for the violence with which they had been restrained.

We need not dwell longer on the record of violence and persecution that the Reformation history so often exhibits. It is difficult and it is not necessary for our purpose to apportion the degree of blame when all are guilty. It is enough to impress upon you that the memory of repression, of persecution, of intolerance, of unfairness, has created deep feelings of resentment which it will take the exercise of much Christian charity to obliterate.

And then, thirdly, I should put as a cause of division inadequate theories about the Church. These have been of two kinds. The medieval theory attempted to turn the Church into a secular society. It summoned to its aid spiritual and secular weapons. It left little room for freedom. In reaction from that came the Protestant doctrines of an invisible Church and of Independency. They sought all unity in the mystical and the unseen, and provided a theoretical system which might seem to justify visible disunion.

I have attempted in my earlier lectures to depict to you the conception of a Catholic Church as the earlier centuries presented it to us. No doubt even thus it was but an imperfect representation of the mind of Christ. But it combined the conception of unity with much freedom of life and thought. The student of the theology of the age of the Fathers knows well how great were the varieties of belief and practice that existed within the unity that loyalty to Christ had created. Unity was fostered and preserved because it was recognized that Christ had intended to form a visible society in which all mankind might be bound together in the bonds of brotherly love, and that it was a fundamental duty to preserve the unity of that society.

The goal marked out for the modern Church in seeking to repair the breaches of the past must be to learn the simplicity of the gospel which is in Christ, to lay aside all but spiritual weapons in the cause of Christ, and to restore to the world that conception of unity in one universal Church which represents most truly the mind of Christ.

LECTURE VI

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH—I.

"*Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.*"—ROM. x. 13.

The teaching of the Creed. The notes of the Church: One, Holy Catholic, Apostolic. The Holiness of the Church. The Catholicity. The Apostolicity.

The Unity of the Church. The Problem. The Roman solution. The Branch theory. The Protestant view. Unity an ideal.

Of whom the Church consists. The meaning of schism. The sin of schism. The word "church." Illegitimate usage. Our present duty.

The ideal Church. What is it like? The sources of our knowledge. The right temper.

Unity of faith. The Holy Scriptures. The Canon. The Apocrypha. Inspiration. The Anglican formula.

The Creed. Its authority. Its wide acceptance. Its intrinsic merits. Condemnation of any other creeds. The Chalcedon rule. All other confessions of faith to be dispensed with.

Objections to the Creed. The dislike of General Councils. The Modernist. The desire for a creedless Church.

Conclusions. The reality of our common Christianity.

IN the previous lectures we have reviewed the history of the Christian doctrine of the Church. We dwelt at some length on the formative periods of Christianity, but were compelled to traverse more rapidly the long history of religious divisions. It was necessary to lay our foundations, to ascertain carefully the contents and limitations of the authoritative teaching of our Lord, and of the customs and regulations of the Apostolic period, to understand the principles and estimate the failures of the great Catholic Church as history has depicted it, and to analyze the causes of disunion. We now come to the constructive part of our work. We have to define the true doctrine of the Church. We have to attempt to picture the Church as it ought to be. Our aim should be that all the people of this country should be united in one Church of England, that all the peoples of the world should

be bound together in one Catholic Church. That is our ideal. How may it be attained? And what should the Church be like in which they are to be united?

I

We state in the Creed that we believe in One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church. By that we mean in the first place that Christ intended to found a society which should unite His followers in the bonds of fellowship and brotherhood. This I discussed in my first lecture and to the best of my ability shewed that it was part of Our Lord's purpose. We also state that that society is One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic. Such a statement appears at first sight to be so absolutely at variance with facts that we must sometimes wonder how we can have the effrontery to make it. There are many Christian bodies, not one. Some of them claim to be the true Church to the exclusion of all others. None of them can in any complete sense claim to be holy; they all alike contain many unworthy members. The word "catholic" means universal. It is clear that in no real sense can such an epithet be justified. When the Church is said to be Apostolic, it means that it possesses uncorrupted the teaching of the Apostles. There is so much diversity between different religious bodies in their teaching that it is obvious that in no real sense can most of them exactly reproduce the Apostolic doctrine; and a natural suspicion is aroused as to whether any of them do. Clearly the statement that we make in the Creed is somewhat hazardous.

Let us examine each of these ideas in succession and see if there is any legitimate sense in which they may be used. What do we mean by saying that the Church is Holy? The basis of the idea is clearly biblical. In the First Epistle of St. Peter we read, "As he which calleth you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation." Throughout the New Testament Christians are spoken of as "the saints," or "the holy ones." Holy—in Greek *hagios*, in Hebrew *qadosh*—meant set apart, consecrated. But as the person set apart must be fit for consecration the word came to mean fit in all moral and spiritual characteristics for the service of God,

who is Himself holy and righteous. The Church, therefore, is holy because it is a society of those set apart for God's service, whose ideal also it is to fit themselves for that service.

Now in our survey we found that one of the difficult problems which the Church had to solve was how to reconcile this ideal with reality. It soon became obvious that there was a danger that there would be in the Church many who could not in any way correctly be called saints St. Paul addresses the members of the Corinthian church as saints. But when we read the epistle we find there was much that was not holy about them. So it has always been. As the Church grew and spread it was bound to contain many who had not yet learnt to give up the vices of heathenism. In times of prosperity the seductions of the flesh were strong. In times of persecution there were many who had not the courage to stand. How should such be treated? There were some who would have excluded them from the church altogether for the rest of their lives. There were some, on the other hand, who would have granted them absolution after penance. Schisms like Montanism in one of its aspects, Novatianism—the Puritanism of primitive Christianity—and Donatism all aimed at making the Church pure in reality as well as in name. Calvinism in its earliest days and our English Puritanism had the same ideal. But they have all failed. Men are imperfect here, even the most pure. So there can be no absolutely pure Church on earth. St. Augustine gave us the true solution when he said that the Church without spot or wrinkle was not the Church on earth, but the Church in heaven, the glorious Church, the Church triumphant. The Church is holy not in reality but in ideal. It is holy because it strives to be so. But perfect holiness can only be attained in the final consummation of the kingdom of God.

What do we mean when we say that the Church is Catholic? We have already analyzed the history and meaning of the word, nor can there be any doubt of the sense in which it is used in the Creed. It means universal. It means that the Church is for the whole world. In it there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free. All are one in Christ Jesus. It is to be the religion of humanity. The

imperfections of humanity are to be transcended by the unity in Christ. Now it is obvious that in this case also we are not confessing actual facts. In no real sense can we say that it is extended throughout all the world, that it unites all mankind in Christ, that it binds humanity into one. Here also we are dealing with an ideal, with an aim not yet accomplished. The Church is catholic because its high purpose is to unite all mankind in the bonds of brotherhood, and until it has done so its work will be unfinished.

What do we mean by saying that the Church is Apostolic? In the Epistle to the Ephesians we are told that the Church was built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, and in the Acts of the Apostles that the disciples continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship. Here we have the two characteristies that are implied in the epithet. The Church is the same Church which was founded by the Apostles, and it possesses the teaching which the Apostles gave. But does it really do so? And which is the body that does? We are aware of the existence of a large number of contending Christian societies. They differ from one another, some more, some less, in their teaching; but the one thing that all claim to do is to preserve the teaching of the Apostles. The Roman Church undoubtedly claims to be the Apostolic Church. It announces that its teaching is infallible and that it truly represents the Apostolic tradition. Exactly the same claim is made by the Orthodox Eastern Church, and on certain points it differs profoundly from the Roman Church. But if we turn to the churches which call themselves Protestant they are on one side assured that the Roman Church and the Greek Orthodox Church are both corrupt, and, on the other hand, that they themselves preach the pure word of God: and when we come to examine them we find that they differ much one from another. Moreover, when we study the history of doctrine we discover that no claim to infallibility or even consistency can be maintained. The teaching of the Church of Rome, as of other churches, has differed much from time to time. History shews that there has been not merely development but alteration. We should all be quite convinced of any other church but our own that it cannot maintain any claim

to be always right, and to have preserved truly the Apostolic tradition. That being the case, and as we claim to be more or less educated and intelligent, and I hope fair minded, we must be conscious, whatever devotion we may feel towards the religious community to which we belong, and however much its teaching may correspond to our needs, that it would be foolish to claim for ourselves an infallibility or doctrinal correctness which it is obvious that other churches do not possess. Moreover, on many points we are not quite certain what our Church does teach. In fact, we probably think that some of its merit consists in the fact that on many points it preserves an open mind. These things being so, we must come to the conclusion that the claim of all Christian bodies to be Apostolic suggests at least that no one of them is so completely. Here, again, we are confusing an ideal with the actual fact. The Church of Christ is a body that exists for the sake of handing on and teaching, of expanding and explaining that revelation of Christ given to the world by His Apostles. It is always aiming at understanding and explaining its message more perfectly; but it cannot here attain its ideal completely. When it makes the greatest pretensions to do so, it often fails most conspicuously. The note of being Apostolic is an ideal as much as that of Holiness and Catholicity.

II

We may now discuss the Unity of the Church. In what sense do we say that the Christian Church is One ?

The teaching of the New Testament is clear. Christian unity is taught as of paramount importance. It is not only a moral duty but a religious truth. "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ." "There is one body, and one Spirit . . . one Lord, one faith, one baptism. . . ." This unity means brotherhood and harmony in life, it means a mystical union with Christ in religious idea. It is only in Christian unity that the full meaning of Christianity can be attained.

How can we reconcile our confession of Christian unity with facts ?

We have seen how, for a thousand years, there was one large Christian body which was called and might reasonably claim to be the Catholic Church. It embraced within its unity a vast majority of Christians, and it was the normal belief that without its fold there was no salvation. There seemed much to justify such a contention: but even then considerable and serious difficulties confront us. When we study the history of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon we can hardly consider that the defeated minority were treated with any measure of justice or fairness. They were driven out of the Church by a violent and fanatical majority. There was a schism, but the guilt of the schism cannot be confined to one side. The balance of doctrinal truth and error between Nestorius and Cyril, if our standard is to be the Council of Chalcedon, is hard to strike. Any theory which says that those who accepted Ephesus are within the Church, the home of salvation, and that those who were driven out are without the Church, and are incapable of being saved, is unthinkable. Nor whatever were the faults of Montanists like Tertullian, of Novatianists, or of Donatists, can we be content with the judgement of the majority of Christians at that time that they were outside the limits of salvation? As Augustine once said: "It is the Christian religion which is necessary for salvation," and they might hold that as well as the Catholics. Even in the days of the undivided Church a theory which made the one Catholic Church the exclusive sphere of salvation was really untenable.

Still more was that the case after the division of East and West. We have already discussed that disaster and have seen that so far as regards the causes and motives of the schism, it is certainly not possible to say that either side was entirely responsible or that the blame is not mutual. Here are two great divisions of the Christian world. They both represent the inherited teaching of Catholic Christianity. For either of them to claim that it represents the one true Church to the exclusion of the other must, to an outside observer, appear ridiculous. Any theory, therefore, which says that there is one body which is the Catholic Church and no other is really untenable. It is not that one body is the

Catholic Church, and the other is not, but that the Catholic Church is divided. And this has been emphasized by the events of the Reformation.

Now at the present day we still find a tendency on the part of certain societies to make the claim to be the one true Church. I do not think that that solution of the problem of Christian unity has any merit but that of simplicity. If, for example, that claim is made by the Church of Rome, we can only reply that whatever respect we may feel for the traditions of holiness of life preserved by the members of that body or for her far-extending and devoted missionary enterprise, we cannot concede to them any monopoly of Christian purity or truth. Their theory of the Church seems to us historically and doctrinally untenable. We must apply in our judgement of Christian bodies the words of our Lord: "By their fruits ye shall know them." We do not, if we judge them by this standard, doubt their claims to be like other bodies a partial representative of the true Church; but we can allow them no exclusive rights. We admire, as we have said, their missionary zeal, but we find that there are many other religious bodies with equal zeal and often greater success sharing their labours. And in other directions we find that the fruits of their religious work are often far to seek. If we want guidance on the intellectual problems of the day we find them singularly defective. How seldom do they help us in our studies of Scripture, on Christian apologetics, on the problems of philosophy! Often they appear to us to have preserved only a sterile and lifeless tradition. How little help they give us in our study of social subjects! How lamentably they have failed, especially in those countries where they have almost a monopoly of religious teaching, in reconciling to the Church of the day modern political life! Any one church at the resent time which claims to be the only true Church condemns itself by its claim.

Nor is the problem simplified by the distinction which is made between the body and soul of the Church. That is one of those phrases which are invented to harmonize an impossible position with real facts. This teaching is expressed as follows: "Those who without fault of their

own are not members of the body of the Church may, nevertheless, belong to its soul, provided they seek to know the truth, preserve faith and charity, and are contrite for the sins they have committed."[1] But it may be said at once that it is just because many people desire to know the truth that they are separated from the body in this sense. Further, we may point out that the condition of being a member of the body is laid down by St. Paul as Baptism, and that so much is this the case that St. Augustine speaks of heretics being joined in bodily union with the Church by Baptism. A phrase like this is not sufficient to reconcile an exclusive theory with the visible fact of Christianity.

Then there is what is called the Branch theory. According to this the one Church is divided into three branches —the Roman, the Eastern, and the Anglican—which are distinguished from all other bodies by alone preserving Apostolic Church orders. To belong to one of these bodies is to belong to the Church. All other Christians are outside the true Church. I do not think that this theory either will satisfy us. It does not in any way explain to us the unity of the Church. Three branches are not one any more than all the separate Protestant sects, and no verbal juggling can make them so. Then this theory takes one characteristic of the Catholic Church, and that not the most important, and makes it the sole criterion. We may believe that an Apostolic ministry is an important part of Church life, but we have no ground in Scripture for making it the one thing that matters. Moreover, we cannot really justify the application of the principle. It is true that the Papacy has preserved Apostolic orders, but it has imposed over them a doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope which deprives the traditional system of Church government of any real value. Are we to accept the Romanists as having a really Catholic ministry and then exclude, shall we say, the Presbyterians, who have preserved a Church order which may be somewhat deficient, but does not depart from the Catholic ideal to a greater extent than does the dogmatic Papacy ?

And then, lastly, there is an argument which will, I think,

[1] Rev. Herbert Thurston, S.J., in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iii., p. 629.

appeal to us more strongly. When we Anglicans are faced by the exclusive claims of Rome, we feel how arrogant they are, and that clearly nothing in the realities of the Christian world can justify them. "By their fruits ye shall know them." We feel that the fruits of our Church life and what we have accomplished in theological learning, in missionary enterprise, in living Church life, form the grounds of a just claim. We are conscious that we exhibit all the marks of a living Church. But if we are prepared to look at the Christian world as it is, it must be obvious to any impartial observer that the non-episcopal bodies can make exactly the same claims against us. We have no monopoly of theological learning, of biblical exegesis, of missionary enterprise, or living religious life, or wise thoughts on the problems of the day. In fact, in some directions we should probably be judged to be definitely inferior. We must be careful that we do not make just the same arrogant claims that we condemn in others. I hardly think that the Branch theory is satisfactory.

And then there is what I think I may call the Protestant view. It is difficult to fix it down, as it is often presented in a somewhat nebulous manner. I think that it starts with the doctrine of the Invisible Church. The one Catholic Church of which we speak is formed by the true believers throughout the world, who are joined together in a unity of spirit. The Church as realized on earth consists of a number of separate societies, called churches, which may or may not be associated with one another. These, by a triumph of bad exegesis, are identified with the churches of the New Testament, and are supposed to be united spiritually with one another. And it is suggested that this makes the sort of Christian unity that we should work for. I am afraid that this ideal seems to me as unsatisfactory as anything we have considered. It is clear to me that the unity spoken of in the New Testament is a visible, external unity. How can you speak of Christianity bringing people together if it means organizing them in separate pens? Where is the brotherhood implied in that? What real amity can there be among the members of this one Church if, as theologians tell us, they are only imperfectly known

to one another in this life? Moreover, as we have already seen, the use of the word "churches" in this sense is not in accordance with New Testament usage. The churches in it are the groups of different societies distributed geographically, not separated societies organized on the basis of different conceptions of Christianity. This theory is, in fact, less in harmony with Scripture than any of the others. They, at least, preserve the ideal of one Church. But in the federation theory, or that of an Invisible Church, even the ideal is absent. I cannot but think that the persistent influence of a presentment of Christianity which has entirely left out all conception of the one Visible Church has had much to do with the continued and disastrous prevalence of Christian disunion. If on the one side we have a doctrine of Christian unity which obliterates freedom, and on the other a doctrine of Christian freedom which disregards unity, it is natural enough that just that condition of things should exist which prevails at the present day —such as is now beginning to prick our conscience.

Our conclusion, then, is that none of these theories or palliatives is in any way sound; our explanation of the term "One," as applied to the Church, must be similar to that which we gave to the terms "Holy," "Catholic," and "Apostolic." It, like them, presents an ideal. When we say that the Church is "one," we mean that Christ intended it to be "one," as He intended it to be "holy"; that the Apostles founded it as "one"; that it must be our continuous aim to make it "one." We must always have that ideal before us. But human sin has caused divisions, just as it has soiled that Church which should be pure and without spot. We have to endure imperfection here. Every step towards Christian unity makes Christianity fulfil its mission more perfectly. All schism and strife and dissension mean so much more failure. Perhaps the full and perfect unity may not be attained in this present consummation, but for that end we must all work.

When, therefore, we confess in the creeds our belief in a Church, One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, we mean that Christ founded a society which was designed to be one, world-embracing, holy in life, preserving and teaching the

faith which He delivered to the Apostles. That ideal all Christians should have before them. Each in his own sphere should aim at realizing it. But these lofty characteristics cannot be fulfilled perfectly in the Church militant on earth.

I will conclude what I have to say on this point with a quotation from a letter of the late Dr. Liddon. His theory of the Church was different from that which I hold, but he states the same argument that we have followed with singular lucidity and eloquence.

"The answer to Père Hyacinthe's argument," he writes, "in my mind, is as follows:

"1. It is true that our Lord meant His Body to be visibly one. St. Paul speaks of one Body as well as of one Spirit.

"2. He also meant it to be perfectly holy, without spot or blemish, and catholic—that is, literally the religion of the whole human race. These last two points I need not prove to you; they are admitted.

"3. Can any one Christian body—the Church of Rome any more than the Church of England or the Orthodox Eastern Church—pretend to full possession of the 'note' of sanctity? There are saints in her, no doubt. But the net contains more bad fish than good; the sanctity is attributed to an abstraction, not to the concrete mass of men and women who receive the Sacraments of the Roman Church. In like manner: Is the Church of Rome as yet catholic, or anything like it, in the sense of the promises? Why—all Christians taken together do not form a third of the human race; and unbelievers are telling us every day that the promised conquest of the world is an utter failure. And on this point, how do we reply to them, whether at Rome or in Oxford? We say that the ideal range and the ultimate fulfilment of these promises is one thing; the historical travail of the Church another. Centuries are nothing to God. The Church is catholic enough to make us sure that she will one day be literally more so; holy enough to satisfy us that Christ is in the midst of her. These 'notes' will be completed one day, and, meanwhile, we wait in patience.

"4. Why is it not to be thus with the 'note of unity'?

You say that unity is a visible, matter-of-fact thing, which we do or do not see. Yes, but the promise: 'All nations shall fall down before him; all people shall do him service,' is a matter-of-fact promise which has or has not been kept. You say, that unity was to be an evidence of Christianity patent to the eyes of heathens. Yes, but a holy charity was also to be such an evidence: 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, that ye have charity one towards another.' In point of fact, the note of Unity, like the other notes of Sanctity and world-embracing Universality, has been only partially realized in history. As yet, between the promise and its fulfilment, there is a gap."[1]

III

What, then, is the Church, and of whom does it consist? The right answer is that given in the Bidding Prayer which we have just used. "Christ's Holy Catholic Church—that is, the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world." This means that the Christian Church consists of all those who believe in the Lord Jesus and are baptized. The condition of admission into the Church in the New Testament is faith and Baptism. "By one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and we have been all made to drink into one Spirit." The one condition of salvation is belief in Christ: "Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved." There is no further limitation than this. The Church consists of all baptized Christians.

And it is for this reason that the undoubted decision of the Church is that Baptism is valid if rightly performed, in accordance with the commands of our Lord and the customs of the Church which have prevailed from the beginning, whoever may have performed the ceremony, whether he be priest or layman. It is important, moreover, to remember that no one is baptized as a member of any particular church. He is baptized into Christ—that is, as a member of

[1] *Life and Letters of Henry Parry Liddon*, by John Octavius Johnston, p. 126.

Christ's Holy Catholic Church. He is not baptized into the Church of England, or the Church of Rome, or the Wesleyan society, and therefore any repetition of a baptism which has been rightly performed is a violation of the Catholic rule which forbids the repetition of this Sacrament. Moreover, it is a grave violation of the comity which should exist even in a disunited Church.

But if we recognize that all baptized Christians who believe in Christ are members of the Church, we do not by that imply that it makes no matter to what religious society they belong or whether they belong to any. Many may be imperfect in their beliefs, irregular in their practices, undisciplined in their lives. Many of them, either through some fault of their own or through want of opportunity, may be without the full privileges of Church membership. It is well for us to recognize at once the difference between excluding such persons from the Church and being indifferent to the character of corporate Christianity. The mistake, as I hold, that Christian theology has so often made in the past has been in attempting to limit the field of God's mercy, to bind His actions by rules of human device and hard rigidity, to impose as a necessity of salvation an ideal. That mistake has no doubt often arisen from jealousy for the ideal. Men have been so eager for the unity, the purity, the fulness of corporate life that they have condemned without mercy those who have seemed to them to injure it so fatally by disunion. Theological liberality must not mean indifference. We must recognize that it is only as members of one united Catholic Church that we Christians can obtain our full privileges; that what is essential to be a Christian is far less than the full Christian life, and that because we all belong to separated, imperfect, maimed bodies, our own Christianity and that of the world is so imperfect.

We must recognize, then, that all baptized Christians are members of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, but also that it is the imperative duty of every Christian to work to bring them all together in the fold of one living corporate body which preserves in the fulness of Christian freedom the complete Christian tradition.

I must now turn to another question which arises out of the position we have so far arrived at. What do we mean by schism? If all baptized persons are members of the Church, who are schismatics? The ordinary answer that is given to this question is that a schismatic is a person who does not belong to a Christian body to which I belong, and who thus may be held to have separated from the true Church. The Romanists look upon us as schismatics. It has been their custom so to describe the Orthodox Church of the East. The Orthodox Church naturally retaliates when Rome sends missions to convert her people. We consider those who leave us for the Church of Rome to be schismatics, and it has generally been our custom to look upon all Nonconformist bodies as schismatics, while Protestants sometimes refuse to give the title of Christians to the Roman Church, and certainly look upon it as a separated body whose members have to be converted. And if people are indifferent to Christian unity it is rather difficult to give an intelligent meaning to the word "schism" at all.

Now all these points of view are subjective. Each person interprets the word in relation to himself and in the assumption that he is right and all others are wrong. We want something more objective. I would suggest this to you. All disunion among Christians is wrong. Schism means a division in the body. When, therefore, such a division has occurred both sides are schismatics. But it may not be that the sin of schism belongs equally to both sides. The sin of schism lies with those who are the cause of disunion, those who through some fault of their own create disunion or prevent union. In some cases schismatics will be simply those who break away from the body of the Church to which they belong. But the causes of this may be various. It may come through undue self-assertion, through erroneous teaching, through a failure to correct their own mistakes by the teaching of the society to which they belong. Such people are clearly schismatics in temper as well as in name. On the other hand, the sin may lie with those who cause them to break away. It may be the spiritual deadness of the parent body, or the harsh treatment of their members, or some erroneous teaching obstinately persisted in, or

irregular ecclesiastical action. It may be difficult to find any cause which can really justify schism. But what other course is open to those who have separated if they have been unjustly excommunicated by the parent body? Probably in no case has the sin been entirely on one side; but often on an impartial judgement of the issue we must hold that one party in the schism has been predominantly guilty.

Let us look at some of the principal schisms of the Church. We have already spoken of that between East and West. This was clearly a division in the body. We cannot say that one side broke off from the other. Both alike were schismatics. And if we hold that the real cause was the unjustifiable claims of the Bishop of Rome to jurisdiction over the East, there no doubt lies the real guilt of schism. But in the East too there was the schismatic temper. It was this too, as well as the claims of Rome, that caused the breach. Had the East asserted its independence (which could not really have been interfered with) and yet preserved an attitude of Christian charity, the actual division of East and West would have been difficult.

We turn to the Reformation. Great divisions then took place in the Western Church. Fissures were made in Christian unity. National Churches broke off. Religious sects multiplied. Where was the blame? Who were the schismatics? Clearly those who caused division. And the ultimate cause of all division was the unspiritual character and the immorality of the Papal Court. For that reason the Church was unable to deal with this crisis as it had dealt with other crises in the past. No wise historian can condemn in any complete fashion the Medieval Papacy, whatever errors he may think it exhibited. There was indeed false teaching. This had largely sprung up in the response of the Church to the needs of the time. Now it had played its part. A revision of Christian thought was demanded. There was a just cry for reform. A more enlightened age knew that Christian teaching should be purged of what was untrue. There were all the elements which, had there been free play, might have accomplished this; but they were suppressed by an unspiritual autocracy. Therefore it was that, whatever elements of self-assertion, of half-truth, of

unspiritual motives there may have been on the other side, the ultimate cause of schism lay in the unspiritual and rigid tradition of the Roman Curia.

Or take, thirdly, the Wesleyan schism in England. Here there were two elements. On the one side a Church which, however much it may have possessed traditions of personal piety, had lost much of its spiritual life. On the other side a religious movement full of spiritual life, with some of the self-assertion and want of discipline which often accompanies a spiritual revival. A church which was sufficiently spiritual might have absorbed the new movement: a church which was partly dead and hampered by secular traditions could not. There is no need to be too anxious to condemn ourselves—a fault to which perhaps we are somewhat prone, but we cannot doubt that the Wesleyans who separated themselves were not the only schismatics. There was a breach of the unity of the Church in England, a schism was enacted, and the guilt of schism does not lie only on one side.

Schism, then, is a division in the body. When there is such a division both sides are schismatics, and the sin of schism lies with those who are morally responsible for having caused the division.

What are we to say of the position at the present day? Here we are a divided Christianity; many different bodies each claiming to be the true Church or at any rate to be a true representative of Christianity. What is the position of an ordinary Christian? The Roman Church, with a self-sufficiency for which there is no justification, will call all schismatics who do not belong to its communion. Some Anglicans with equal self-sufficiency and equal want of justification will call all schismatics who do not belong to an episcopal Church. Some members of Protestant bodies are equally satisfied with their own position and condemn all who deviate even a hair's breadth from their orthodoxy. I do not think that we can feel that such attitudes have any justification. The Church which should be one is divided, and of none of the separated bodies can it be said that it represents perfectly the full Apostolic tradition. We know that that is the case of every other body but our own: it is obvious that it must be true also of ourselves. Neither we nor

anyone else have any right to claim to be infallible. Schism —that is, the creation of disunion—is sinful; but they who are born (as all Christians are) in a body separated from other branches of Christianity are not themselves guilty of any schism. It is the duty of such people to remain in the body to which they belong and to do all they can to bring it closer to other bodies of Christians. In the present condition of religion in the world those are guilty of schism who do anything morally wrong which keeps Christians apart and prevents Christian union. It is the bounden duty of all Christians to do all in their power to unite the separated members of Christ's flock, and to build up anew the Body of Christ.

There is one further question that arises. In what sense may we legitimately use the term "church"? It is maintained with great earnestness by the representatives of all separated bodies that they are entitled to the name of Church, and they demand with some insistence that that name should be conceded to them. Now in what sense, following biblical precedent, may we use the word "church"? The Church means in the first place the whole body of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world. That is the one right and true sense, and in that sense all baptized and believing Christians are members of it. It means in a secondary sense the local society which represents that one Catholic Church, and so we may rightly speak of the Church of France, or the Church of England, or the Church of Scotland. But who at the present time may rightly claim such titles may often be doubtful. For example, even if its historical position and its numbers might entitle the religious society to which we belong to call itself the Church of England it would only be in the sense that potentially all Christians in this country are members of it. And the same may be true of the Church of Scotland. Then, thirdly, it is used of a body of Christians who unite together for worship. In that sense it may, I think, be legitimately used of any Christian congregation.

But now there is another sense in which it is commonly used. We speak of the Wesleyan Church, the Congregational Church, the Anglican Church, the Roman Church—

not in the sense of the Church which is in Rome, but of a particular body of Christians in some other country. That is, we use the word "church" for a separated body of Christians organized together on the basis of a more or less imperfect representation of the Christian tradition and in distinction from other Christians. Now such a usage of the term has no justification either in the New Testament or in Christian tradition, and is in my opinion wholly wrong; but it is wrong not only for the Wesleyan and Congregationalist, but also for the Anglican. The word "church" is used in this sense as a synonym for schism. The only correct language would be the Anglo-Catholic schism, the Roman schism, the Presbyterian schism, the Wesleyan schism, the Congregational schism. It would be as well, therefore, that we should give up, if we can, the use of the term, and if we desire a mere colourless word speak of ourselves as the Anglo-Catholic community and use similar language about the other separated bodies.

I venture to think that a correct grasp of the meaning of the Church is fundamental to our quest. That what I have attempted to sketch corresponds to the teaching of the Church of England I do not doubt. Such an interpretation removes all the harshness from the traditional language of the Church. The Christian Fathers were right in thinking of the Church as the home of salvation, the sphere of the work of the Spirit. They were right in thinking that the Church should be a visible society, with an organized life and unity, and that it ought to be one. They were wrong in thinking that everyone who was separated from the visible society was therefore in no sense a member of the Church. It was this that led to what I cannot but think to be erroneous theories on the nature of Orders and Sacraments, and caused the fatal narrowness of a church polity based upon them. But we must not think that the theory of the Church we have sketched means more than it says. It does not mean that it makes no difference to what Christian body we belong, or what is its teaching or organization, or that one church is as good as another. These are matters of real importance. What it does mean is that no body of Christians, however imperfect, may not be the home of salvation, or without the

gift of the Spirit, that its Sacraments are of no avail, its ministry invalid. We might well hold that it was with the purpose of preventing such teaching as this that our Lord said, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." These words do not take away from anything said about the duty of Christian unity, or the full life of the Christian Church; but they should be sufficient to prevent us from saying that any body of Christians, however imperfect or obscure, is without a share in the Christian Church.

I could sum up, then, the position that we have so far attained as follows: The Christian Church consists of all baptized Christians who believe in the Lord Jesus. The words of our Lord, the commands and practice of the Apostles, tell us that this society should be one—a united, living organism. At present, owing to the sin and imperfection of mankind, it is not what it should be: it is divided into a number of bodies, all imperfect in their life and teaching, who have failed to accomplish their mission. It is our duty to do all in our power to restore this unity and create a united Church which will more fitly represent the Apostolic ideal. To do so we should begin by being loyal to the religious society to which we belong. We should aim at making it fulfil adequately the ideal of a Christian Church by purity of life, by moral and spiritual power. It is our duty by wise thought, by judgement and learning, to make its teaching and order as truly representative as possible of the Apostolic ideal. It is our duty to do all that in us lies so far as is consistent with Christian truth to break down the barriers between ourselves and other Christian bodies.

IV

Our next question, then, will be, What is our ideal of a Christian church? To what model should it conform?

To answer that question we have four lines of approach. We have the teaching of our Lord, the rules and customs of the Apostles, the traditions of the Church, and the lessons of religious experience. These are our authorities and sources, and in making use of them we must remember their relative

importance. We must recognize that the teaching of our Lord is of greater authority than the rules of the Church. There may be many wise and wholesome ecclesiastical regulations, but to insist upon them in a manner which causes controversy and schism, which violates the very principles of brotherhood on which the Church is built, without discretion, without proportion, and without charity, must always be wrong. For instance, if a man says, "I will have no dealings with a church which makes the recitation of the Athanasian Creed voluntary," he is clearly putting an ordinance of man in the place of the teaching of Christ; if another says: "I will not be a member of an Established Church in any form," he is acting in just the same way. No doubt both would say that the point on which they were determined to stand firm was in their judgement essential. But how far and to what extent have we a right to put our own judgement against the general opinion of the Church or nation? I have never been able to sympathize with the Passive Resister who was quite ready to take Churchmen's money for undenominational schools, but would not allow the Church schools to share. I have always felt that Pusey and Liddon were wrong when they threatened to retire into lay communion if anything was done to the Athanasian Creed. Our English High Churchmen have clearly been too ready to imitate Novatian, or the Donatists, or Lucifer of Cagliari. We may quite rightly adhere to an opinion and do all that we can to make it prevail; but to refuse to carry on our work or to create a schism because we dissent from the majority on some subordinate point is to exercise private judgement illegitimately. It is this spirit which has always caused disunion. We want to cultivate a wise and sober judgement, a balanced and tolerant temper.

In trying, then, to form our ideal of what the Church should be, we must put in the forefront the Gospel precepts. We must remember always that the Church exists to promote brotherhood and discipleship. We must remember that a fundamental Christian principle is unity, and we must be careful lest we allow our devotion to ecclesiastical customs to overpower our sense of the importance of the higher things. We must recognize that any definite commands of

our Lord, and any clear Apostolic ordinances, have an authority which does not attach to the rules of the later Church. We must recognize the value of ecclesiastical rules and traditions, but as the customs and ordinances of the Church have varied from century to century we cannot select the rules of any one period and claim that they are of paramount obligation. The lessons of Church history, the teaching of Christian experience, must be our guide, and we shall need always the spirit of wisdom and counsel.

It will be remembered that when we studied the principles on which the first Christian community, that depicted for us in the early chapters of the Acts, was built up, we noticed that it exhibited certain principles: there was a unity of teaching, the doctrine of the Apostles; a unity of life and organization, represented by the spirit of brotherhood, exaggerated perhaps into a primitive communism, on the one side, and the authority of the Apostles on the other; there was a unity of Sacrament and prayers, Baptism and the Breaking of Bread. These three principles have marked the lines of development of the Church since that day, and it is of these three aspects of the question that I propose to treat.

(1) Unity of doctrine.
(2) Unity of organization.
(3) Unity of Sacraments.

The first of these I propose to discuss now, the second and third will occupy us in the next lecture.

V

What should be the doctrinal basis of Christian Unity? The answer that I would give is the Holy Scriptures and the Christian Creed.

The question of the acceptance and the authority of the Holy Scriptures is one which need not, I think, detain us long, but there are two or three points which demand discussion.

The first point is that our canon of Scripture must be that which has been universally accepted by the Christian Church. That means that our Old Testament canon must be that of the Jewish Church, accepted by the Christian

Church, and our New Testament canon that as defined by Athanasius in the East and by the Council of Carthage in the West and accepted by the universal Church—the canon of the Orthodox Church, of the Latin Vulgate, and of the Authorized English New Testament.[1]

The question naturally arises as to the position of the Apocrypha. I do not suppose that that will in the present day cause any real difficulty. The dogmatic motives which prevailed at the Reformation and demanded either its inclusion or exclusion would have no weight now. Few Roman Catholic controversialists would consider that the use of images or prayers for the dead could be defended by the dubious Apocryphal texts which used to be quoted, and no Protestant would hold that pure doctrine could be endangered by the admission of the deutero-canonical books into our Bibles. Moreover, the progress of historical investigation has enabled us to recognize the permanent value of the books of the Apocrypha in the study of the influences which have contributed to the growth of Christianity and the knowledge of its environment. I do not think, therefore, that any school of thought, or any section of the Christian Church, would doubt that it should be included in the Christian Bible, but on the lower level assigned to it by Athanasius in the East and by Jerome in the West. We must have our complete Bible, but we do not place all parts of it on the same level.[2]

[1] On the history and formation of the canon see Ryle, *The Canon of the Old Testament;* Westcott, *The Canon of the New Testament;* Gregory, *Canon and Text of the New Testament;* Leipoldt, *Geschichte des Neutestamentliche Kanons;* Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestamentliche Kanons.*

[2] Athanasius, *Festal Letters,* xxxix. (p. 552, ed. Robertson): "But for greater exactness I add this also, writing of necessity; that there are other books besides these, not indeed included in the canon, but appointed by the Fathers to be read by those who newly join us, and who wish for instruction in the word of godliness. The Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Sirach, and Esther, and Judith, and Tobit, and that which is called the *Teaching of the Apostles,* and the *Shepherd.* But the former, my brethren, are included in the canon, the latter being merely read."

It is important to notice that this is referred to by Archbishop Philaret in *The Longer Catechism of the Russian Church* (Blackmore, *The Doctrine of the Russian Church,* pp. 38, 39):

"*Q.* Why is there no notice taken in this enumeration of the books

Then, next, we are not concerned with particular questions of authorship or authenticity. We accept the Old Testament as containing in its present form the sum of the teaching of God to Israel, the religion of the Jews as it was at the time of our Lord, the record of an inspired revelation as it was accepted and reinterpreted by Him. We are not concerned with the question of the process by which that revelation was given, or the historical sequence of events, or the particular authorship of the different books. So also we receive the New Testament as containing the record of our Lord's teaching, of the founding of the Church, of the witness of the Apostles, of the types of Apostolic teaching. It is the record which the consciousness of Christianity has felt to correspond with its needs. Nor are we here concerned with the authorship of particular books, or the historical accuracy of every detail. What we mean when we accept it is that it gives us a true record of what Christianity is.

Then, thirdly, the Church has never formulated, nor have we ever received, any rule of interpretation. We recognize, indeed, that the Bible must not be disconnected from the living witness of the Church, that no wise theologian will ever cut himself off from Christian tradition, that in studying the Scriptures he will inquire how they have been interpreted in all periods, and will be anxious to correct the vagaries of any particular epoch in theology by a wider knowledge and experience. But he will recognize that no rule of interpretation has been given by the Christian Church.

If we desire any formula to express our attitude towards the Scriptures, I think that we may with some confidence put forward the language of our Articles. "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not

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of the Old Testament, of the book of the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, and of certain others ?

"*A*. Because they do not exist in the Hebrew.

"*Q*. How are we to regard these last-named books ?

"*A*. Athanasius the Great says that they have been appointed of the Fathers to be read by proselytes who are preparing for admission into the Church."

The principal facts concerning the reception of the Apocrypha in the different branches of Christendom may be found in Gibson, *The Thirty-nine Articles*, pp. 248 ff.

to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."[1] No wise man is too anxious to put forward his own standpoint or to impose his own point of view or that of his society on the Church; but I feel that in this Article the wisdom of our Church is clearly apparent. The position it assumes may be supported by many extracts from the Christian Fathers, who never knew any other point of view; it corresponds with the teaching of the Eastern Church—although that body would attach a somewhat higher value to tradition; it would be accepted by the great body of those styled Protestants; it is a formula on which (if a formula were necessary) we might unite; yet it does not prohibit us from thinking that the traditions of the Church may be a wise guide to the meaning of Scripture.

VI

For I think experience has shown that a religious society requires a somewhat more definite standard of union than the Bible gives, that we require a doctrinal basis of Christian unity. That may, I believe, be found for us in that one Creed which has undoubted oecumenical authority, that which we call the Nicene.[2]

Let me put before you the reasons for accepting this document as of unique authority. Its early history, indeed, is somewhat doubtful. It was probably the traditional

[1] A useful list of quotations from the Fathers in support of this Article will be found in Bicknell, *Introduction to the Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 170.

[2] It must be remembered that the Christian Creed is not that which we call the Apostles', which is only a Western creed, and in its origin is a Gallican recension made in the fifth or sixth century of the old Roman Creed.

The name the "Nicene Creed" is used in two senses:

1. For the original Creed promulgated at Nicaea. This Creed, although it had wide influences, was never as far as we know used liturgically in the Christian Church.

2. As in our Church, for the creed called at Chalcedon the Creed of Constantinople. This Creed, which is the only Catholic Creed, has always borne names to which it has no claim. For the sake of convenience it is always called in these lectures the Nicene Creed.

The whole subject of the history of the Creed may most conveniently be studied in Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds*.

creed of the Church of Jerusalem enriched by all the special clauses of the original Nicene Creed. Then for some reason or other it obtained the name of the Creed of Constantinople, and was believed, almost certainly erroneously, to have been put forth by the Second General Council, held in that city. But these uncertainties are of little moment. There are two facts which give it a unique claim to be accepted. The one is that it was solemnly put forth as containing the Christian faith by the Fourth General Council, that of Chalcedon, held in the year 451, that Council which may be held to have concluded and summed up the long series of doctrinal controversies on the Person of Christ which disturbed the Christian world in the fourth and fifth centuries. The "Exposition of Faith" of the Council of Chalcedon is undoubtedly the most authoritative document of a doctrinal character ever put forth in the Christian Church.[1]

But the authority of a General Council is not the only claim this Creed can make. It has also been accepted by the whole Christian Church. Gradually, by a process which cannot be completely traced, it became first the baptismal creed of the whole Eastern Church, and then the Eucharistic creed of East and West alike. It is recognized by all theologians that the decisions of a General Council cannot obtain full authority by the action of the Council alone. They must be accepted by the Church. In fact, it is only acceptance by the Church which makes a council general. This Creed has that acceptance in a way that, apart from the Scriptures, no other document in the Christian world has.

Then, secondly, it has the merit of taking us behind all our divisions. Here is a document certainly older than any of the great divisions of Christianity. Here is one that East and West alike accept. Here is one that the greater number of the churches which date from the Reformation have also received. There are some, indeed, who have repudiated all creeds as the basis of union; I shall speak of them shortly. But apart from these it is a document that the greater number of reformed as of the more ancient churches accept and reverence.

[1] This may be studied most conveniently in Bindley, *Oecumenical Documents of the Faith*, pp. 217–243, 292–298.

And then, thirdly, it has unequalled merit. Is there any other Christian document which has such dignity and power? "God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made, Being of one substance with the Father, By whom all things were made: Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven." Is there any other Christian document which more completely responds to the beliefs and ideals of every orthodox Christian? Is there any other document with greater completeness and yet economy of theology? It says what is necessary. It omits what is unessential. Is there any other document to which a reasonable criticism can make fewer objections? At the present time there is much criticism, not, it seems to me, very reasonable, directed against the "Exposition of Faith" of Chalcedon. People want something more responsive to their religious feelings than the formula of the two Natures and the one Person. I do not know that I personally sympathize with all this. But none of these things touch the Creed. It is more comprehensive than the Chalcedonian theology. It embraces both sides. The central faith of the Church has been from the beginning the belief in Christ. Here we have that belief expressed in its completeness and its fulness without mutilation but without addition.

I would put it to you that here we have a document on which the orthodox Christian world may unite.

But now I want you to go a little farther. If you turn once more to this "Exposition of Faith" of Chalcedon, you will find that it not only puts forward a creed but also it bids you neither alter it, nor add to it, nor put forward any other in its place.

Thus it legislates:

"These things having been defined by us with all possible accuracy and care, the Holy and Oecumenical Synod hath decreed that it is unlawful for anyone to present, write, compose, devise or teach to others any other Creed; but that those who dare either to compose another Creed, or to bring forward or teach or deliver another Symbol to those wishing to turn to the full knowledge of the truth from Paganism or from Judaism or from heresy of any kind whatsoever—that such persons if bishops or clerics, shall be deposed—the

bishop from the episcopate, and clerics from the clerical office —and, if monks or laics, they shall be anathematized."[1]

Let us be quite clear what this means. It does not, I think, forbid, certainly it has never been held to forbid, each church from having its own traditional baptismal creed. The Nicene Creed was only slowly adopted as such in the East and never in the West. It does not, again, forbid us to put forth for the purpose of instruction any catechism, or synopsis of the Faith, or any expositions of the duties and beliefs of a Christian. What it does forbid is putting forward as a necessary condition of union, or as necessary for salvation (to use a conventional term) any other document or creed, or making any alteration in the text of the Creed, except, of course, with the authority of a council equal in weight to that which promulgated this Creed. It would, therefore, forbid (as indeed was seen in the time of Leo III.) the interpolation of the *filioque* clause. It would, therefore, forbid us to put forward as in any way equal in authority to the Nicene Creed that document which we call the Athanasian Creed. Let us recognize that whatever be the value of that document, to hold as some Churchmen seem to do that it is a Catholic Creed is a violation of every Catholic principle. The position we in the Church of England seem to ascribe to it is a sign not of our Catholicity, but of our Insularity.

The rule of Chalcedon further condemns all those articles, symbols, expositions of the Faith which from the days of the Reformation have divided and burdened Christianity: the Decrees of the Council of Trent, the Thirty-nine Articles, the Westminster Confession, the Augsburg Confession, the *Confessio Helvetica Prima*, the *Confessio Helvetica Secunda*, the *Confessio Gallica*, the *Confessio Belgica*, and many others which may be found in the pages of collections of symbols or the chronicles of the Reformation. These, in so far as they are put forward as a necessary condition of religious union, it would definitely and authoritatively condemn. And is there anyone, lay or clerical of any church, who would not be glad to be relieved of the burden they impose on him? The Thirty-nine Articles are so composed

[1] Bindley, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

that we can honestly sign them, but are they any real advantage to the Church? The Bishop of Hereford made an heroic attempt to defend them, but his defence was, as might be expected, confined to those articles of which he happened to approve. I doubt whether the adherents of any other church feel that the inheritance of these Reformation formularies is any great gain.

Let me not be misunderstood. I could recognize that these documents are the venerable relics of many sincere attempts to find and define the truth. But not only have they fulfilled their part and ceased to respond to any real conviction; they were always the symbol of Christian dissension and of that harmful desire to impose on others an elaborate and complete system of theology as necessary to salvation. Nor, again, do I mean that each national church or even each diocese should not put forward for the instruction of the people such catechism or exposition of the Faith as the time may demand. What I do mean is that as a necessary basis for the union of Christendom the Creed which the Christian Church has accepted is sufficient.

When we followed the history of the divisions of Christendom we saw how again and again it was this desire to impose further beliefs on others, or to convict them of what we may call constructive heresy, which was the fruitful cause of disunion. The interpolation of the Creed by the Western Church, the endless Speculations of the schoolmen and of the Reformers, the desire of making all men believe a particular theory of Christendom, rent the Church.

If we desire to adhere to these emblems of disunion whose limited authority we all recognize, we shall never unite. If we are prepared to concentrate our gaze on what is higher and more universal than all these, the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, the message of the Gospel, as expressed in the one Catholic Creed, we shall attain that unity of life and faith that we desire.

VII

I want now to consider certain objections which might be put forward by those who would either like to have no creed or would desire quite a new one of their own construction.

There are those first who would object to anything which came from a General Council. They would draw attention to the unsatisfactory character of much that happened at Chalcedon. It was, they would say, using the words of Harnack, not only a robber but also a traitor council. This is, in my opinion, both an unfair judgement and also shews a misunderstanding of what a General Council is.

The scandals of Church history are a favourite topic with some opponents of Christianity and with some ecclesiastical partisans, who forget that similar accusations to those which they make against movements which they criticize may often be brought against movements of which they approve. Some of our Protestant friends are very severe on the Great Councils; let them remember that an unsympathetic treatment of the Reformation may leave them little to be proud of. Some of our Roman Catholic friends are very scornful of the Reformation; let them remember that a candid history of the Papacy or the Inquisition will not be impressive. They are in much need of charitable judgement. I have heard my Anglican friends very scornful of the Puritans. Even Sir Walter Scott was hardly fair to the Covenanters. But the history of the Church of England as described by Buckle is not altogether edifying. The fact is that we all need a great deal of charity; and we ought, I think, to look a little deeper than all this partisan history writing.

It has been a characteristic of Christianity that it has at certain periods seized the imagination and stirred the intellect of whole peoples. Its influence has not been confined to select circles. It was so in the fourth and fifth centuries. It was so again at the Reformation. It will be so whenever the time comes that the Gospel lights up the life of India or of Africa. So in the days of the Councils an undeveloped world was stirred to its very depths; lofty thoughts were brought in contact with a half-pagan population; the new wine of the Gospel was too powerful for some of those who had drunk of it, and so on the stage of world history, when holy things were brought from the church and the cell and the study into the public arena, there were exhibited side by side and often even in the same person Christian holiness and undisciplined passion. The wise man will not be too ready to judge,

But the particular character of the Council is not in itself a mark of true value. We may well believe that out of the contest and controversy a new stage in thought may be reached, just as in a great battle out of the passion and bloodshed may come a step forward in human progress. For the work of a Council is that it formulates conclusions, and the authority of these conclusions depends upon their acceptance by the voice of the Church. The Creed which was adopted at Chalcedon was accepted by the Church, and whatever criticism we may have to make against the Council will not take away from the authority of the Creed.

And then let us remember that the Creed was in no way the work of the Council. It was the formulated product of the best Christian thought through four centuries. The history of the Creed is the history of the concentrated effort of the human intellect in the study of divine things, of Greek acuteness, of Latin directness, inspired by God's Holy Spirit. Except in the case of Athanasius, it is perhaps true that we cannot assign a single clause to any one theologian, but it enshrines the labours of all the great Christian teachers of the second, third, and fourth centuries. Ignatius, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, the Cappadocians have all directly or indirectly left their mark on it. It has embodied for future generations the results of many centuries of religious thought. I do not think really that we need be concerned about the failures of that Council which set its mark upon the Creed.

Then next there are our Modernists. They would like something much more up to date. Some of them have written for us new creeds. They are anxious to excise all inconvenient historical references. They sometimes leave us in doubt whether they really accept the traditional belief in the Incarnation at all. Now I would put before you that on such lines there is no hope of any sort of Christian reunion at all. The living, working Christianity of to-day is an orthodox Christianity. It is only as orthodox Christians we can unite.

I am not, indeed, one who would be anxious to put too rigid an interpretation on our formulas, or to demand too narrow a principle of uniformity. It will always be right and necessary that the same document should be held by

different persons in different ways. To impose any particular interpretation on the Creed (as some bishops would have us do) is the same as to put forth a new and additional creed. We all hold some clauses to be symbolical in their language, and I think it quite honest to extend that principle, although personally I should not agree with it. All that the Church may demand is that the interpretation should be in the opinion of a just judge one that may reasonably be held. If I am asked, as I sometimes am, what is implied in expressing honestly our adhesion to the Creed, I would answer that it means that we accept that view of Christ and His Gospel that the Church has always held, even if there may be details on which we doubt. We do not want rigidity, and we do not want to build up constructive heresy.

But having said this much I would put to you that the only Christian reunion that is possible is the reunion of that Christianity which is commonly designated as orthodox —a reunion on the basis of belief in the Incarnation and the Trinity. However much we may respect the personal character or the intellectual attainments of the Unitarian, it would be difficult to find a place for him in the reconstructed Church. To the Modernist I would say that he must settle with his own conscience whether he can accept the Creed of the Church. We cannot write a new creed for him, nor reconstruct Christianity to suit his taste. It is in the traditional beliefs now as always that the whole Church —Protestant and Catholic alike—finds its inspiration, and these beliefs are put forward in the Creed in the manner which may most generally obtain acceptance.

And then, thirdly, there are those who belong to Christian societies which would repudiate the restraint of any creed. They would accept the maxim, "The Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants," in its most extreme form. They would consider the Bible without any other guidance as a sufficient basis for the unity of the Church. Now, I would venture to put to such persons two things. In the first place, does experience suggest that this unlimited private judgement is a sufficient basis for a religious society? If people are to unite together in the realities of religious life and worship, there must be a sufficient community of belief.

The Church is a voluntary society which none need join and no one's conscience will be strained. We would wish it to be as comprehensive as possible. We would not desire to banish any unnecessarily from its communion. But whatever limits we may lay down there will always be some who will linger on the threshold and cannot quite enter in. Every religious community needs a common basis of belief, and I do not think that for a widespread society the vagueness which may suffice for a small society will be adequate. It must be remembered that if the Church be united all those sectarian distinctions which have been the rallying-point of the separated community will disappear. Reunion means giving up minor distinctions and rallying on the belief in Christ. It is that belief that the symbol expresses.

And then, next, I would ask such people to consider what is possible. Our horizon at the present time must surely embrace the orthodox and separated churches of the East, the Scandinavian churches, Lutheran churches, the Protestant Reformed churches, the Anglican Church, the English Nonconformists, the Scottish Presbyterians. Now for these to come together it must mean that each will have to give up much as a condition of union. But do you think that the Orthodox Church of the East or the Anglican Church will accept any basis but the Christian Creed? I do not wish to speak too positively, but I do not believe that either the Scandinavian churches, or the Scotch Presbyterians, or the great majority of English Nonconformists would be content with anything less. Here you have a document older than all our divisions, expressing the faith which we all accept, and the teaching of the Scriptures, lying behind all our theology. I do not think that we can unite on any other basis but that of the Catholic Creed.

VIII

The conclusion, then, that I would put before you, is that the right and wise basis of doctrinal union should be the acceptance of the Holy Scriptures and the Catholic Creed. The reasons for this are:

1. The basis of union must be discipleship of Christ and

acceptance of the Gospel which He taught. The record of that is contained in the Scriptures, and the Creed represents the way in which the universal consciousness of the Christian Church has formulated its belief.

2. The Creed comes to us with the credentials of wider experience than any other document. If there is anything which can claim in any real sense to be Catholic it is the Creed. It is accepted by the vast majority of Christian societies, although some of them may ascribe to it more authority and some less. It is, therefore, a document behind our divisions which expresses the points in which we are united.

3. Christian experience has shewn us how the most fruitful causes of division have been the many attempts which have been made to add to the necessary doctrine of the Church, the desire to impose more and more on others, the passion for a complete and logical orthodoxy. It is these which have created all those sectarian documents which have been the source and sign of Christian divisions and must be all alike dispensed with.

4. It is a fundamental Catholic rule that no one must add to the Christian Creed, or put forward any other document in the place of it, or in addition to it. We English Churchmen, at any rate, inasmuch as we claim to be guided by Catholic principles, must obey that rule and thus set an example to other religious bodies.

I have on this lecture freely used the word Catholic. That, like every other great word, has often been misapplied. Often it is used not of those things which have a wide acceptance, or have been the heritage of the Christian Church through many centuries, but of everything which is sectional and sectarian. But because it has been misused, that is no reason why we should not use it. In a very real sense there is a faith once for all delivered to the saints. In a very real sense the teaching of Christianity has been throughout all the ages the same. In a very real sense there is at the present day a basis of a common Catholic Christianity. Let us sweep away all the many additions that have overshadowed it, and attempt to unite on the traditional faith of Christianity—the belief in the historical Christ, the Son of God.

LECTURE VII

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH—II

"This is a true saying, If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work."—1 TIM. iii. 1.

Unity in life and organization. Episcopacy. Its authority. Its value. Its wide acceptance. A constitutional Episcopacy. The Enabling Act, a first step to reunion. The restoration of the complete Catholic tradition.

What constitutes a valid ordination. The controversy concerning Anglican Orders. Opinion of Monseigneur Duchesne. The Bull *Apostolicae Curae*. Lessons of the controversy.

The minister of ordination. The teaching of the Church and of the Church of England. The meaning of Orders. The *character*. The power of the Church. The teaching of the liturgies. Absolution. Khomiakoff. The true theory.

The Apostolic Succession. A mechanical theory. Gives no security. Inconsistent with facts. Without authority. The true theory of Orders and Sacraments. Recognition of non-episcopal Orders as valid. Episcopacy and episcopal ordination necessary for Unity. Episcopal ordination the rule of the Church.

Unity in the Sacrament. Primitive union. Modern disunion. The institution of the Sacrament. The Jewish Passover. The command of our Lord. The teaching of the Undivided Church. Causes of division. Hopes of reunion.

Conclusion. Vagueness and over-dogmatism. The possible basis of a reunited Church.

A FUNDAMENTAL precept of Christianity is brotherhood, and the Christian Church in one of its aspects is the embodiment of this conception. The purpose of the Church is to bind all Christians together as members of one society in Christ, and that is the meaning of the Catholic Church. How is the Church to be organized so as to accomplish this purpose? In other words, what should be the organization of the Church? The problem is not a simple one, for the unity that we desire is one which must exhibit itself alike in the small unit of the congregation, in the larger unit of the nation, in the still larger unit of a Church which transcends nations. Many of us would feel that national Christianity has been in the past one of the most fruitful forms of

Christian life, but it has sometimes been attained through the suppression of the living reality of the smaller unit, and it often seems to conflict with the wider mission of Christianity to bind together the nations of the world. A merely national Christianity cannot be the inspiration of a League of Nations. That is why we must always extend our horizon to other countries and not be content with a national solution of the problem. What, then, should be the outward form of the Christian Church ?

I

The historical review with which we began this course has, I think, made certain points clear. The foundation of that society which we call the Christian Church was a part of the divine plan, and to that end our Lord appointed His Apostles, who became the first ministers of the new society; but He gave no directions as to the form or organization of the new community, and the actual organization which was ultimately developed was different from anything which He personally established. The Apostles as the first rulers of the Church gradually built up a ministry adapted to the conditions of the times, but they, too, gave no directions that have been preserved for us in any trustworthy or authoritative manner as to what should be the form of the society, and, as a matter of fact, after they passed away we find the Church ruled over by officers different from those that had existed in the Apostolic Church as it is presented to us, although doubtless linked to it by a close organic connection.

Now, the only deduction we can make from this is that while it was clearly intended that the Church should possess a properly organized ministry, it was not intended that any particular form should be essential. The Church should freely create its own ministry, and might presumably also change at some future time what it had itself created, or adapt it to newer conditions. We cannot therefore say that any form is essential to entitle it to be called a church, nor are we entitled to say that any particular Christian society has no claim to be considered a part of the Church

because it has not a particular form of ministry. I want very carefully to guard against any overstatement or over-emphasis, as I am now going to argue, within limits which I believe to be legitimate, in favour of Episcopacy as the right form of Church government.

I would do so on two grounds. In the first place, because Episcopacy has far greater authority than any other form. It has indeed, as we have seen, no certain Apostolic authority, but neither has any other form. It has been shewn already that that is true of the Papacy equally with Presbyterianism and Congregationalism; that although the government of the local community was in Apostolic days Presbyterian, that was not the government in any way of the Church as a whole, for the local ministry occupied a subordinate and not very important place; that Congregationalism likewise has no real authority, for although it represents an aspect of the primitive society, in no sense was it the form in which the Church was organized nor does it preserve the principles which inspired its growth. Both these forms, indeed, as they exist at the present day, represent antiquarian revivals, an artificial imitation of certain aspects of the Church polity of Apostolic times. They were devised in response to a real need and because of defects in the Church life of later times, and for that reason they may claim to have been legitimate developments, but they do not come to us with any authority behind them.

It is argued, indeed, that in Apostolic days there were two forms of Christian ministers. There was the extraordinary ministry existing only for the special purpose of the time and not intended to be permanent. There was the local ministry which was intended to be a model for the future. Such a distinction is purely arbitrary. There is no means of distinguishing between the one and the other. If the local ministry in the form in which it then existed was intended to be permanent, on what grounds can we say that the same was not true of the general ministry? If that was not to be preserved, there was no reason why the former should be. Clearly it was instinctively felt that the local ministry of presbyters was not adequate for the changed circumstances that came as the Apostles passed

away; and the Church instituted a form of government which would give cohesion under the new conditions.

What I would claim for Episcopacy is the clear authority of the Church. What we call monarchical Episcopacy dates quite certainly from the close of the Apostolic period, and from that time until the Reformation it was the universal form of Church government. Since then, although some, and those not the least vigorous, Christian bodies are otherwise organized, it still remains the form of Church government of the vast majority of Christians. It has, indeed, been overlaid in the Roman Church by papal developments, and the independence and rights of the Episcopate have been largely destroyed, but even there it remains the basis of Church order. Now, I do not think that there is a necessary infallibility in numbers. I do not wish in any way to assert that it is not competent for the Church if circumstances demand it to change its constitution. I would not say that those churches which gave up Episcopacy were not justified in doing so. But what I am considering is a possible basis for reunion. We recognize that the Spirit of God rules His Church, and I will put it to you, therefore, that this widespread, long-continued custom cannot lightly be put aside. We want to find a basis on which we can unite which is older than our divisions and comes to us with some real authority. I would put it to you that the historic Episcopate just presents that.

And then, secondly, I believe that experience has shewn that, whatever defects there have been or may be still in certain presentments of Episcopacy, it really forms the best basis for Christian unity. If we study carefully the history of its growth I think we shall find that it was as a centre of unity that authority was first given to it. Ignatius looks upon it as a support, not only of orthodoxy, but of unity. There were, no doubt, many small congregations of Christians in most cities. There would be a natural tendency for them to break off and perhaps for some insignificant reason form separated communities; he therefore bids them be united with the bishop in faith and love. Episcopacy created a strong, well-ordered community, firm and elastic, but united and coherent, which remained One for

many centuries, until the unauthorized claim of the Papacy broke up this unity. At the Reformation the non-episcopal churches which then grew up appear to us without any external unity which could bind them together, and with a tendency towards greater disunion. I gather, too, that a widespread feeling is growing up among non-episcopal churches that some more developed form of Church organization is needed. When I was in Australia I found such a movement existing among the Presbyterians. They wanted officials of the type of bishops, and that made them approach the Church of England there with a desire for some form of reunion. I understand that the Congregational Church in England has appointed superintendents. I understand also that many of those most anxious for reunion would not only accept Episcopacy, but consider that an episcopal organization would be in itself a gain. I feel, therefore, that there is here strong grounds for claiming that Episcopacy should be the form of government of a united Church.

But what do we mean by Episcopacy? That is a vital question. It will be remembered that when we studied the organization of the Catholic Church there was much evidence to suggest that the conception of Episcopacy was somewhat complex. The bishop was not separated from the people; he was a constitutional bishop; he was a representative bishop. The machinery was no doubt clumsy, but it is quite evident that if they wished it both the college of Presbyters, and the great body of the laity could make their voice heard. Cyprian claims never to act without the concurrence of the clergy and laity. He bids a diocese separate itself from an unworthy bishop. The authority of the bishop seems to be derived from and dependent on the Church. The stages by which a separation grew up between the bishop and the clergy, between the clergy and the people, were gradual. The causes were various. They were partly determined by and came from the theory of the ministry which owed its origin to St. Augustine. They were partly practical—the authority which the bishop acquired in the break-up of society when the civil power failed, the want of machinery by which the clergy and laity might express their opinion in the large dioceses which grew up beyond

the Alps: the absence, in fact, of anything like representative government. So the medieval bishop was evolved, and from the medieval bishop came the Anglican.

Now it is not the medieval bishop but the Catholic bishop of the primitive Church that the present time needs. It is the constitutional bishop. Only such a development would respond to all the needs of the Church now. If we look at the history of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism we find that both arose from a movement of reaction against the claims of the medieval or Anglican bishop. Presbyterianism was the reassertion of the rights and prerogatives of presbyters, which had long been lost. Congregationalism was the assertion once more of the rights of the laity. The function of these two bodies has been to revive, to assert, to keep alive, the constitutional rights of these two classes, just as the function of the Church of England has been to revive and establish the claims of the bishop.

But not only this. The Church of England also is feeling the need of reviving the constitutional rights of the clergy and the laity. It has itself of its own initiative adopted a constitution which, perhaps not quite perfectly, restores these rights. It has seemed to me to be a somewhat curious sign of how little ecclesiastical principles have been thought out or understood that the measure which represents the first step towards the reconstitution of a real national Church should have been greeted with so much unintelligent criticism in quarters where one would have expected it to be warmly welcomed. The Enabling Act is not perhaps an entirely satisfactory measure—what statute ever has been? —and one of the motives which inspired it may have been a theory of the independence of the Church, which may seem to some rather exaggerated, but would be held by most Nonconformists to be the veriest commonplace; but substantially it for the first time creates the conditions which might make reunion possible.

It is, then, not Episcopacy as it is presented by the medieval Church, not the Anglican presentment, which is the medieval conception modified by a good deal of English common sense, but the constitutional Episcopacy of the

Catholic Church of the early centuries that we desire as a basis for reunited Christendom. Different elements in this conception have been preserved by Anglicans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists. If English Christianity were to reunite on such a basis it would not mean that the different Nonconformist bodies joined an Episcopal Church; it would mean that the different fragments of Christ's Church in the land, separated and imperfect as they are, would combine together to build up a Church which would then present more adequately the full Catholic tradition.

It is a great service that a section of the Church of England has rendered to the modern religious world in emphasizing the value of the Catholic tradition of the Church. The great mistake that they have made is to think that they themselves, with other Episcopal Churches, have preserved the whole Catholic tradition. That is not so. The whole Church has been divided. The traditions have been mutilated. Each separate society is imperfect. Each preserves and exaggerates some element in that tradition. There can be no doubt that the Anglican Church has exaggerated Episcopacy. The Presbyterians have set a very undue emphasis on presbyters. The Congregationalists are beginning themselves to feel that they are much too independent. But each has preserved something. We have to aim at restoring the broken unity of Christ's Church and at combining in a reunited body all the severed strands of the complete tradition.

II

But it is not merely the form of the Christian ministry with which we are concerned: a still greater cause of controversy has been the question of ordination and the theory of Orders. The problems we have now to discuss are—What do we mean by a valid ordination? What do we mean by the validity of Orders?

Some of you will remember the movement which took place in the years 1895 and 1896 for a closer *rapprochement* between the Church of England and the Church of France.[1]

[1] An account of this episode will be found in *Leo XIII. and Anglican Orders*, by Viscount Halifax.

It was a movement inspired on the one side by Lord Halifax and certain leading members of the High Church party, on the other side by a body of able and liberal-minded French clergy who were anxious to be associated with the English Church, more particularly as the home of reverent criticism. The organ of the movement was the *Revue anglo-romaine*, a journal which had but a short-lived existence—it was ultimately suppressed by authority—but contained much valuable and original investigation. The movement was attacked—as all attempts at reunion are—by the bigots and scoffed at by the cynics, but it was a most sincere and honourable attempt to bring nearer to one another two separated branches of Christ's Church. The discussion turned on the question whether English Orders were valid. It was felt that if once the Church of Rome had recognized their validity much friction between the two Churches would be removed. I do not suppose that anyone of experience had much hope of any other result than their further condemnation, although there are reasons for thinking that it was only strong pressure directed by the Roman hierarchy in England that secured this result, and the effect of the decision on the temper of the Church of England was a great disappointment to those who had brought it about. But although the result desired by those who first raised the question was not attained, the discussion they initiated was of great value. It served to elucidate many points in the history of Orders and cleared away many historical figments.[1]

There are two points in this discussion to which I would direct your attention. The first is a statement by Monseigneur Duchesne of the essential elements in a valid ordination. In 1894 there was published by the Abbé Portal, writing under the *nom de plume* of Fernand Dalbus, a discussion on Anglican ordinations.[2] In that work he had

[1] Perhaps it may be as well to explain that the reason why members of the Church of England are anxious that the Roman Church should recognize our Orders is, not that we have any doubt of them ourselves, but that we should be pleased that the Church of Rome should make a decision in accordance with the principles of truth and charity.

[2] *Les Ordinations Anglicanes*, par Fernand Dalbus. Arras: Sueur-Charruey, 1894.

maintained that the form of the Anglican rite was sufficient, that the consecration of Parker was certain, but that as the English rite omitted the *Porrectio Instrumentorum*[1]—that is, the handing to the ordained the chalice and paten—the ordination was null. Further, he suggested that there might be occasionally doubts as to the "intention" of those who had been consecrators in the Church of England.[2] To this Duchesne replied that the intention of doing what the Church does must always be assumed unless there is proof to the contrary. As for the objection from the defect in the rite: it is true that the Schoolmen had considered that the essential element was the *Porrectio Instrumentorum*. But this had been abandoned. To support it, it would be necessary to consider all Greek and Oriental ordinations null and void, and even those of the Latin Church before the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In any case, this would not apply to Anglican Orders, because it would not touch the consecration of bishops, and ecclesiastical antiquity is full of instances of episcopal consecrations being celebrated without the inferior degrees having been previously conferred. Many Popes have been directly promoted from the diaconate

[1] The *Porrectio Instrumentorum* is considered (*Summa Theologica* Supplementum, Quaest. XXXVII., Art. V.) to give the *character* to the priest. "Cum principalis actus sacerdotis sit, corpus et sanguinem Christi consecrare: recte in ipsa calicis datione sub certa verborum forma imprimitur sacerdotalis character." This doctrine was adopted in the Decree of Eugenius IV. on union with the Armenians promulgated at the Council of Florence (Mansi, xxxi., p. 1058): "Sextum sacramentum est ordinis, cuius materia est illud, per cuius traditionem confertur ordo, sicut presbyteratus traditur per calicis cum vino, et patenae cum pane porrectionem." But Morinus (*De Ordinationibus*) has shewn that this ceremony is, comparatively speaking, modern, and was not found in the old Ordinals.

[2] Dalbus, *op. cit.*, p. 37:

"Nous croyons ainsi démontré:

"1. Que le rite de l'Ordinal Anglican, pris en lui-même pourrait être suffisant;

"2. Que la consecration de Parker doit être regardée comme certaine quant au fait, mais qu'un doute subsiste au sujet de l'intention du consécrateur;

"3. Que, par le fait des alterations introduites dans les cérémonies de l'administration des prêtres, les ordinations Anglicanes sont nulles."

And this is summed up as follows: "Les ordinations Anglicanes, par conséquent, sont nulles, a cause de la suppression de la porrection des instruments."

to the episcopate, and it was not until the close of the eleventh century that the custom prevailed of ordaining deacons who had been elected Pope to be priests.

Anglican Orders, therefore, judged by an historical standard, are sufficient and valid.[1]

How did the Roman Church act? There were some who would have followed Duchesne's lead, but other influences prevailed. It was necessary, owing to the progress of historical investigation, to discard much on which stress had been laid in former days. Such points were simply passed over. It was accepted that the essentials of the rite are laying on of hands with prayer. According to the theology of the Schoolmen who desired to make their doctrine of the Sacrament correspond to the distinctions of the Aristotelian philosophy, 'laying on of hands' is the 'matter' of the Sacrament, prayers are the 'form.' The Bull *Apostolicae Curae*[2] condemned English Orders because the form and intention were not adequate. The form of the Edwardine Ordinal was defective because it contained no reference to the priesthood or the Sacrifice. "The words, 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' do not signify in the least definitely the order of priesthood nor its grace and power, which is specially the power of consecrating and offering the true Body and Blood of our Lord in that Sacrifice which is not a nude commemoration of the Sacrifice offered on the Cross."[3] It goes

[1] Duchesne's review is printed in full as an appendix to this lecture.

[2] Published in *Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Leonis Papae XIII. Allocutiones, Epistolae, Constitutiones, aliaque acta praecipua*, Volumen vi. (1894-1897) (Typis societalis sancti Augustini, Desclée de Brouwer et Soc., Brugis et Insulis. MCM). Shortly after the publication of this Bull there appeared a letter in defence of it from the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England—*A Vindication of the Bull "Apostolicae Curae": A Letter on Anglican Orders.* By the Cardinal Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of Westminster in reply to the letter addressed to them by the Anglican Archbishops of Canterbury and York. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1898.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 205: "Iamvero verba quae ad proximam usque aetatem habentur passim ab Anglicanis tamquam forma propria ordinationis presbyteralis videlicet, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, minime sane significant definite ordinem sacerdotii vel eius gratiam et potestatem, quae praecipue est potestas *consecrandi et offerendi verum corpus et sanguinem Domini* eo sacrificio quod non est *nuda commemoratio sacrificii in Cruce peracti.* Forma huiusmodi quidem est postea aucta iis verbis *ad officium et opus presbyteri;* sed hoc potius convincit, Anglicanos vidisse ipsos primam eam formam fuisse man-

on to argue that as changes were made in the medieval form, and as words and ceremonies which had formed part of the older rite were omitted, that was clear evidence that the intention of the Church had been changed. The Church of England did not intend to do what the Church had done, and therefore the rite was defective in intention.[1]

Now, it may be admitted at once that if our standard is to be that of the Roman Church at the present day, and if, unless a rite exactly conforms to what that Church teaches, it is invalid, this argument is sound. The Church of England does not teach exactly what the Roman Church now teaches, and has deliberately made alterations, but it appeals to a wider and more Catholic tradition, and judged by that both the form and intention are clearly valid. The Church of England claims to do what our Lord intended in instituting the Eucharist, what the Apostles intended when they ordained ministers, what the Catholic Church as a whole has intended in celebrating the Eucharist and in ordaining bishops and priests. It maintains that its "form," judged by other "forms" in use in the Church, is quite sufficient. The service makes it abundantly clear that the intention is to ordain a priest, and that is sufficient to answer the demands of Leo XIII.[2]

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cam neque idoneam rei. Eadem vero adiectio, si forte quidem legitimam significationem apponere formae posset, serius est inducta, elapso iam saeculo post receptum Ordinale eduardianum; quum propterea, Hierarchia extincta, potestas ordinandi iam nulla esset."

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 207: "Cum hoc igitur intimo *formae defectu* coniunctus est *defectus intentionis*, quam aeque necessario postulat, ut sit, sacramentum. De mente vel intentione, utpote quae per se quiddam est interius, Ecclesia non iudicat: at quatenus extra proditur, iudicare de ea debet. Iam vero quum quis ad sacramentum conficiendum et conferendum materiam formamque debitam serio ac rite adhibuit, eo ipso censetur id nimirum facere intendisse quod facit Ecclesia. Quo sane principio innititur doctrina quae tenet esse vere sacramentum vel illud, quod ministerio hominis haeretici aut non baptizati, dummodo ritu catholico, conferatur. Contra, si ritus immutetur, eo manifesto consilio ut alius inducatur ab Ecclesia non receptus, utque id repellatur quod facit Ecclesia et quod ex institutione Christi ad naturam attinet sacramenti, tunc palam est, non solum necessariam sacramento intentionem deesse sed intentionem immo haberi sacramento adversam et repugnantem."

[2] See the *Answer of the Archbishops of England to the Apostolic Letters of Pope Leo XIII. on English Ordinations—Addressed to the*

It is, however, a fact of some interest that shortly after the issue of this Bull, and of a letter of the Roman Catholic bishops in England supporting it in a somewhat over-dogmatic tone, there was discovered in a manuscript on Mount Athos a collection of prayers used by Serapion, Bishop of Thmuis, in Egypt, during the fourth century.[1] There is no doubt about the genuineness or the adequacy of this document, and the prayer used at the ordination of a priest contains no reference either to the priesthood or to the power of sacrificing. The contention of the papal Bull had been sufficiently answered already, but this new discovery is most illuminating.

The prayer runs as follows:

> "We stretch forth the hand, O Lord God of the heavens, Father of thy only-begotten, upon this man, and beseech thee that the Spirit of truth may come to him. Give him the grace of prudence and knowledge and a good heart. Let a divine Spirit come to be in him that he may be able to be a steward of thy people and an ambassador of thy divine oracles, and to reconcile thy people to thee the uncreated God. Thou who didst give of the Spirit of Moses upon the chosen ones, even Holy Spirit, give a portion of Holy Spirit also to this man, from the Spirit of thy only-begotten, for the grace of wisdom and knowledge and right faith, that he may be able to serve thee in a clean conscience, through thy only-begotten Jesus Christ, through whom to Thee is the glory and the dominion in Holy Spirit both now and for all the ages of the ages. Amen."[2]

The theory put forward by the Bull was quite novel. It was most arbitrary. It seemed as if a somewhat cursory

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Whole Body of Bishops of the Catholic Church. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1897 (first published in Latin). There was a new edition of it published in 1912, with the name of John Wordsworth, late Bishop of Salisbury, attached.

[1] These prayers were first published by Dr. G. Wobbermin in *Texte und Untersuchungen* (New Series, vol. ii., part 3*b*, Leipzig, 1899), and they have been edited by Mr. Brightman in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. i., 1899–1900, pp. 88 and 247. There is an English translation, published by Bishop John Wordsworth, under the title of *Bishop Serapion's Prayer-Book* (S.P.C.K., 1910).

[2] See Wordsworth, *Bishop Serapion's Prayer-Book*, pp. 50–53, 73.

examination had been made of existing forms, and a theory devised which might serve for the purpose. It was hardly sincere, and as a result unfortunate. It has seldom happened that the utterance of a Pope or any other controversialist has been so decisively proved to be wrong by future discoveries as that of Leo XIII.

The study of the literature of this controversy is most instructive from many points of view. There is only one more point that I will touch on in conclusion. The condemnation of Anglican Orders was probably largely dictated by political motives. It is well known that the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England had worked hard to secure it, that they thought that the result would be to create confusion and dismay in the English Church, and that they had made preparations for the influx of a large number of converts. They were disappointed. The only result was to confirm the great body of English Churchmen in loyal attachment to their Church. Although they might differ among themselves on many points, one thing on which they were absolutely assured was that they were validly and properly ordained. Some of them were anxious—it may be over-anxious—for greater approximation to the Roman Church, but it was on the basis of their recognition as a true branch of Christ's Church. Now, does not this incident give a lesson and a warning to us now? The question before us at the moment is the condition on which reunion may be possible with Nonconformists. They maintain, as we did then, that they are an integral portion of Christ's Church. They maintain, as we did, that they truly in all their ministrations have the gift of God's Holy Spirit. They maintain, as we did, that they have a valid commission for the ministry that they exercise. They maintain that to them, as to us, God gives His grace through the Sacraments. Are we going to copy the methods of the Church of Rome? Are we going to judge their Orders, not by the objective standard of Holy Scripture, but by the rules of our own Church, as Rome did us? Are we going to say: You have no valid Sacraments, no valid Orders—come over to us and get them? If we do we shall be just as narrow, just as arrogant, just as foolish as the Church of Rome.

At present, as the result of our investigations so far, I would put it to you on the authority of Scripture that what is necessary for a valid ordination is laying on of hands with prayer, that no other form or ceremony can be considered essential, and that no particular form is required either by Scripture or the voice of the Church, and further, as regards intention, all that is requisite is that we should intend to do, and should make it clear by our actions and prayers that we intend, just what the Apostles did when they ordained.

III

But a further question arises—the minister of ordination. Who is competent to ordain ?

The rule of the Church has been, from an early time, that the proper minister of ordination is the bishop. The origin of that rule, so far as we can trace it, has already been discussed, and its authority defined.[1] It has not the authority of our Lord, nor of the Apostolic Church. We have no certain evidence of its prevalence in the second century, and some information never quite demonstrative might suggest that at one time a different custom had prevailed. But the rule certainly prevailed in the third century; in the fourth it received full conciliar authority, and it became a recognized part of the canon law of the East and West alike. It is generally maintained that without a bishop there is no valid ordination, and consequently that no Sacrament but Baptism can be validly celebrated. A bishop is not only the proper, but the necessary minister of ordination.

The Church of England, unlike most other of the Reformed Churches, has preserved the rule of Episcopal ordination, but there has been some variation in its teaching as to the necessity.[2] Previous to the year 1660, on certain occasions

[1] See above, p. 99.

[2] The different Ordinals are compared in *The English Rite*, by F. E. Brightman, vol. ii., pp. 930, 931. In 1550 and 1552 the Preface is: "And therefore to the intent these orders should be continued, and reuerently used, and estemed, in this Churche of Englande, it is requisite, that no man (not beeynge at this present, Bisshoppe, Priest, nor Deacon) shall execute any of thelm, excepte he bee called, tried,

those who were not in Episcopal Orders but had been ordained in a Reformed Church, were admitted to benefices. This might be held to be in harmony with the Article,[1] and was not perhaps especially forbidden in the Ordinal. In the Prayer Book of 1661, as a result of the reaction against the Commonwealth, and as part of the policy which deprived those in Presbyterian Orders in English benefices, it was definitely stated that none might hold office in the Church of England unless he had received Episcopal ordination or consecration. This has been the rule since, although it has been widely held that the Church does not desire to condemn the Orders of other religious bodies, and that this is a rule only for itself.

What weight must we attach to the rule of the necessity of Episcopal Orders? Before answering this question we must investigate more fully the meaning of valid Orders and the nature of a Sacrament. I do not think that we can do better than start with the definition given by Cardinal Vaughan and the Roman Catholic bishops of this country in the letter addressed to the English archbishops mentioned above.

There are two relevant passages. The first concerns the priesthood:

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examined, and admitted, accordyng to the forme hereafter folowyng." The later part of this is modified in 1661 as follows: "No man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawfull Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in the Church of England, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, tryed, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the Form hereafter following, or *hath had formerly Episcopall Consecration or Ordination.*"

[1] Article XXIII., *Of Ministering in the Congregation*: "It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of publick preaching, or ministering the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have publick authority given unto them in the Congregation, to call and send Ministers into the Lord's vineyard." This Article comes ultimately from the Confession of Augsburg. In its language it is ambiguous. It is capable of interpretation in two ways and was, no doubt, so interpreted from the first. It might be held to mean that as, according to the rules of the Church, none but bishops had such authority, it really implied Episcopal consecration; or it might be held to mean that anyone was lawfully a minister who had been so appointed and ordained by those who had such authority in any particular community. In this case it would cover Presbyterian ordination.

"Priest and Sacrifice are correlative terms—with us, at all events, and, indeed, with all nations, except in so far as your own Communion may be an exception. A priest is one who offers sacrifice; and as is the sacrifice so is the priest. Since, then, our sacrifice is the Sacrifice of the Mass, our priest is one appointed and empowered to offer up that sacrifice; one, therefore, who has received from God the power, by means of the words of consecration, to cause the Body and Blood of Christ to become present under the appearances of bread and wine, and to offer them up sacrificially. . . . He is a priest solely because he has the office and power of effecting the Real Objective Presence on the Altar of the true Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and thereby offering Him up in sacrifice."[1]

The second passage concerns the requirements for a valid ordination:

"For a valid ordination a valid *form* (or *rite*) and a proper *intention* are required.

"First, then, as regards the *form* or *rite*. It is the teaching of the Catholic Church that our Lord, having established the Christian priesthood, determined that it should be perpetuated through the ages by an Apostolic Succession, those who received the gift directly from His hands transmitting it to the next generation, and so to the end; with the result that no man can be truly deemed to possess the priesthood or the episcopate who has not received it in this manner through Apostolic Succession. It is likewise the teaching of the Catholic Church that the bishop, in thus transmitting his gift to others, must use a rite instituted by our Lord Himself. He must do this, because none but our Lord could annex to a sacramental rite the power of communicating gifts so stupendous, as it was His good pleasure to institute each one of the Sacraments Himself, during His earthly life, by assigning to each the rite which, as a condition of valid administration, must always be observed. And as our knowledge of what our Lord

[1] *Vindication of the Bull "Apostolicae Curae,"* pp. 26, 27.

instituted and prescribed in regard to the Sacrament is derived from the unfailing tradition of the Catholic Church, it is this we must consult if we wish to learn what are the necessary elements of a valid ordination rite."[1]

The first question that these statements arouse concerns the nature of a Sacrament in the Christian Church. The developed medieval and Roman doctrine is that in ordination a certain *character* is given to the person ordained which enables him to do certain things. As it is sometimes expressed, the *character* given to a priest gives him the power "to make the Body and Blood of Christ." The *character* of a bishop is the power of giving to others this power of making the Body and Blood of Christ. This *character* is indelible and always remains to a man even if he be an unbeliever or a heretic, provided he makes use of the correct matter and form.[2]

I do not believe this to be the conception intended by the teaching of the New Testament, nor that it was held in the primitive Church. Let me remind you of the result of our historical investigations. Before the time of St. Augustine there is no trace of this *character indelebilis*. A quite different theory prevailed. The power of a bishop or presbyter depended upon the Church. If the people separated from a bishop he ceased to be a bishop; if he became a heretic or a schismatic he ceased to be able to confer Orders or consecrate the Eucharist. St. Augustine, in order to justify the custom of the African Church, which in the cause of unity and charity, had ceased to rebaptize or reordain heretics when they returned to the Church, modified this theory. He held that just as a man who is baptized does not lose the effect of his baptism if he become a heretic, and therefore need not be rebaptized, so it is with ordination.

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 30, 31.

[2] On the *character* see *Summa Theologica*, Pars III., Quaestio LXIII., "De effectu Sacramentorum, qui est Character," Articulus I.: "Cum Christi fideles per sacramenta ad aliquid divinum ad Dei cultum spectans deputentur, oportet illos per sacramenta aliquo spirituali charactere insigniri." Articulus V.: "Cum character sit quaedam in fidelibus sacramentalis participatio sacerdotii Christi, necesse est eum indelebiliter animae inesse."

But although the result of this teaching was to create the medieval theory of the ministry, it was not the opinion of St. Augustine himself that the essence of a Sacrament lay in the power of the bishop or priest. He held that the Sacraments were the Sacraments of the Church, and therefore of Christ. They were efficacious because they were celebrated within the Church, and because it was not really the bishop or priest who performed the Sacrament, but Christ on behalf of His Church. It was Christ who baptized. It was Christ who ordained. It was Christ who consecrated the Eucharist.[1]

I would suggest to you that this is the true theory of Sacraments. They are the Sacraments of the Church, performed through the ministers of the Church appointed for that purpose. In answer to the prayers of the Church God, through Christ, gives us His Holy Spirit and the spiritual gifts for which we pray. It is not the bishop who gives the Holy Ghost in confirmation or ordination, but God who, through Christ, sends His Holy Spirit in answer to the prayers of the Church, offered up through their duly appointed minister. It is not the priest who transforms the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, but our Lord who, through His Holy Spirit, gives us the spiritual food of His Body and Blood in answer to the prayers of the Church offered up in the church by a duly appointed minister of the Church.

I think a study of the early liturgies would support this. Take, for instance, Absolution. At the present time the Church of England, following medieval custom, uses a declaratory form. Such a form was unknown in the West until, I think, the twelfth century, or in the East until the sixteenth. In the Primitive Church Absolution was always in the form of a prayer. The penitent who made public confession of his sins and had submitted to the discipline imposed upon him, was readmitted to the communion of the Church by the laying on of hands of the bishop, who offered prayers that he might be absolved from his sins. The Church exercised its authority through its ministers by restoring the penitent to communion. Such a service

[1] See above, p. 156.

may be seen, for example, in the Gelasian Sacramentary, the oldest service-book of the Western Church that has been preserved.[1] I cannot but think that the exercise of discipline might be promoted and ecclesiastical strife (which largely arises from misunderstandings) might be allayed if—at any rate, for the mission field—a service for the reconciliation of penitents might be restored on this ancient model.

Other instances might be quoted. While in the Western Church the form of Baptism is, "I baptize thee," in the Eastern Church it is "So and so is baptized," a form intended to make it clear that the minister is only the instrument through whom the Sacrament is performed, and that it is not performed by any power inherent in him. If you desire an instance of the manner in which the whole congregation may be associated with the minister in the Eucharist, you may find it in the service of the Coptic Church,[2] where, throughout the prayer of consecration, the people respond, thus associating themselves with the ministerial action. It is often held also that the great defect of the Order of the English Church, as of the Roman Church, is the absence of a proper *Epiclesis* in the liturgy. Moreover, whatever real defects there may be in our Ordination Service

[1] See *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, edited by Wilson, p. 314. The following are the Exhortation and prayers:

"Deum omnipotentem ac misericordem, qui non vult mortem peccatorum, sed ut convertantur et vivant, fratres carissimi, suplices deprecemur, ut converso ad viam rectam famulo suo *Illo*, misericordiae suae veniam propitiatus indulgeat: et si quae sunt culparum suarum omnium vulnera, quae post sacri lavacri unda(m) contraxit, ita in hac publica confessione delicta sanentur, ut nulla in eum ultra cicatricum signa remaneant. Per Dominum nostrum."

"Deus, justorum gloria, misericordia peccatorum, da huic famulo tuo *Illi* plenam indulgentiae veniam, et penitentiae loco exoratus indulge; ut qui praeterita peccata deplorat, futura mala non sentiat, neque jam ulterius lugenda committat. Dimitte ei, Domine, omnia crimina, et in semitas eum justitiae placatus reinstaura, ut securus mereatur deinceps inter tuos bene meritos currere et ad pacis aeternae praemia pervenire. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum."

"Domine Deus Omnipotens sempiterne, qui peccatorum indulgentiam in confessione celeri posuisti, succurre lapsis, miserere confessis, ut quos delictorum catena constringit, miseratio tuae pietatis absolvat. Per Dominum."

This is discussed by the late Dr. Reichel, Bishop of Meath, in *The History and Claims of the Confessional—A Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., 1884). An appendix contains a large number of forms of Absolution.

[2] See Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, pp. 179, 180.

arise from the fact that, influenced by medieval tradition, there is a tendency to make the necessary part of our ordination rite lie in the declaratory words spoken by the bishop in the laying on of hands and not in the prayers that accompany the rite.

Now, all these instances are not mere antiquarianism: they are evidence that the services of the Church were at the beginning based upon the Scriptural rite in each case, that there was no undue tendency to exalt the minister, and that it was on the prayers of the Church that emphasis was laid. The Medieval Church, by exalting the minister and by the mechanical theory which it evolved, obliterated that, and we should return to the more primitive theory.

I would further illustrate what I have said by extracts from the writings of a well-known Russian theologian—Khomiakoff—which are of value as giving an Eastern point of view:

> "Believing in the Church we, together with her, confess seven Sacraments—namely, Baptism, the Eucharist, Laying on of Hands, Confirmation, with Chrism, Marriage, Penance, and Anointing the Sick. There are also many other Sacraments; for every work which is done in faith, love, and hope is suggested to man by the Spirit of God and invites the unseen grace of God. But the seven Sacraments are, in reality, not accomplished by any single individual who is worthy of the mercy of God, but by the whole Church in the person of an individual, even though he be unworthy."[1]

And again of ordination:

> "The Sacrament gives to him who receives it this great significance, that even if he be unworthy, yet in performing his Sacramental service, his action necessarily proceeds not from himself, but from the whole Church—that is, from Christ living within her."[2]

There are these two theories about Sacraments, two methods of teaching about them. The one was developed

[1] See Birkbeck, *Russia and the English Church*, vol. i., p. 206.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 209.

in the Medieval Church and had its origin in certain teaching of St. Augustine. It is the dominant theory of the Roman Church, and has been adopted by a section of the Anglican. It exalts the minister. It ascribes the efficacy of the Sacrament to a definite power with which he has been endowed, and on that basis was built up a consistent but mechanical and, in some of its presentations, almost magical theology.

The other looks upon the bishop or priest as the appointed minister of the Church. His acts are efficacious because they are the act of the Church, and because Christ is in His Church. It is Christ who performs the Sacrament. So definitely was this the theory of the Early Church that it was held that, if a bishop was not acting in the Church and on behalf of the Church, his acts were ineffective and invalid; the Sacrament that he performed was no Sacrament. This theory was reflected in the liturgy, it has left its trace in medieval theology, it was the theory which St. Augustine himself held.

The former theory is hard, mechanical, unreal; the other is living and true, and is, I believe, what we are intended to hold in the Church of England; for every definite trace of the medieval theory has been eliminated from the Prayer-Book. It is a theory which, combined with a broader and more Scriptural doctrine of the Church, will form a rational basis for reunion.

IV

The second point in reference to the theory of Orders that must be considered is the so-called doctrine of Apostolic Succession. This is stated with great definiteness by the English Roman Catholic bishops:

> "Our Lord, having established the Christian priesthood, determined that it should be perpetuated through the ages by an Apostolical Succession, those who received the gift directly from His hands transmitting it to others, who in turn, should transmit it to the next generation, and so to the end; with the result that no man can be truly deemed to possess the priesthood or

the episcopate who has not received it in this manner through the Apostolical Succession."[1]

The same doctrine is held by some members of the Church of England, and has thus been recently restated by Bishop Gore:

> "I believe that there is no theory of the grounds of a valid ministry which can at present enter into any even plausible rivalry with the Catholic theory of Apostolic Succession, except the theory which lies deep in the heart of the Protestant Reformation that any group or assembly of Christian men or women who are dissatisfied with their existing Church can, for themselves, constitute their ministry, and of themselves give it its power and authority."[2]

The results of this doctrine are given us very emphatically by Khomiakoff:

> "If Ordination ceased, all the Sacraments except Baptism would also cease; and the human race would be torn away from grace: for the Church itself would then bear witness that Christ had departed from her."[3]

That, then, is the doctrine as it is taught. Now, with regard to that, I would put before you the following observations.

In the first place, how extraordinarily mechanical a theory it is! The giving of God's grace to mankind or, at any rate, the giving of Sacramental grace, is made to depend upon certain ceremonies being correctly performed on certain persons. The theory may be held with different degrees of strictness. According to the Roman theory it depends upon the exact form of the prayer that is offered. The Anglican (and probably also the Eastern) theory might not be so rigid, but still it makes spiritual gifts depend upon what is purely formal and mechanical. It speaks of grace having come down from the Apostles as it were by a golden channel. And when we ask for the authority for this theory

[1] *Vindication*, p. 26 (quoted in full above).
[2] See the *Church Times* of March 19, 1920.
[3] Birkbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

it is difficult to discover what it is. There is certainly nothing in the New Testament or in the teaching of the Early Church to justify it.

It is sometimes said that the great advantage of the theory is that it gives us security. I fail to find any justification for that statement. As regards, perhaps, 100,000,000 of Protestant Christians the only security that it provides is that they certainly have no regular Orders or Sacraments. As regards the Swedish Church, which is believed to have the Apostolical Succession, there is still doubt, for some hold that the absence of a diaconate invalidates their Orders, and some that the absence of episcopal confirmation has the same effect. It might have been thought that the Orders of the Eastern Church were free from reproach, but, if according to St. Thomas Aquinas and Pope Eugenius IV., the *Porrectio Instrumentorum* is a necessary condition of a valid ordination, they have no correct Orders. We Anglicans are quite convinced (largely on quite different grounds) that our Orders are valid, but when we begin to read arguments about them we find ourselves in a discussion that has no reality about it at all. According to one we have no proper sacraments because we do not intend to do things of which the Early Church had no knowledge, or because there are alleged defects in the Edwardine Ordinal, or because there is no proper prayer at the ordination of a deacon, or because we do not really consider ordination a Sacrament. It might be thought that Roman Orders and Sacraments were above reproach, but there have been distinguished liturgiologists who have held that the *Epiclesis* is essential to a proper consecration of the Eucharist, and as the Roman Mass has no proper *Epiclesis* that Sacrament may be looked upon as at least doubtful. As regards Orders the Pope claims the right to decide what are the conditions of their validity, but if two of them have made such blunders as Eugenius IV. in his letter to the Armenians and Leo XIII. when he condemned Anglican Orders, we cannot think much of their authority, and if they are right in their opinions it is probable that all early forms of ordination were invalid and Orders in the Christian Church have long ceased. Moreover, it is quite a probable opinion that for a time in the

Christian Church there were no proper bishops, and therefore all ordinations at that time were invalid according to later theory. This defect is got over, of course, in various ways, but where is the security ?

The fact is that, in dealing with these things in this way, we are dealing with a science which is no science—with a theology which has none but arbitrary principles. Different theologians made different rules, but behind them all there is no reason or real authority.

Then, secondly, this theory of the Apostolical Succession is, I should hold, quite untrue to fact. According to the Roman theory the English Church is entirely without sacramental grace. According to the Anglo-Catholic theory no non-episcopal Church has such grace or, as it is more customary now to say, it has not got it in any regular or secure way. According to Khomiakoff, who is, in many ways, a liberal-minded theologian, Christ is not present when there are no bishops. The facts prove that these statements are untrue. I have always defended the Eastern Church in all its branches from the unworthy and untrue condemnation in which some Roman and Protestant controversialists indulge. I know well how much real rich religious life and devoted piety and love of Christ there is in the Roman Church. The habit of undue self-depreciation which prevails in some sections of the English Church seems to me as foolish as it is disloyal, but I am convinced that in Nonconformist churches there is equal evidence of true faith in Christ. They are no whit behind in personal piety, in theological learning or missionary zeal. Their ministers shew equal signs of God's Spirit, and their people are the recipients of divine grace.

It has become the fashion now for English divines, in the same breath almost in which they deny Sacraments and Orders to the Nonconformists, to indulge in eulogies of the many signs that they exhibit of the gifts of God's Spirit. "I desire to acknowledge as fully and truly as possible the abundant evidences of the action of the Holy Spirit in the Free Churches,"[1] says Bishop Gore. It is well that it should be so, for a recognition of fact will gradually modify, as it is modifying, untenable doctrine. But surely if this be so the

[1] *Church Times*, March 19, 1920.

natural deduction that people will make is that valid Sacraments and Orders make little or no difference, and that it really does not matter if we are without them.

The real facts I believe to be quite different. They are that the Nonconformists exhibit such signs of the Spirit because they are a branch (although, like us and all other branches of Christendom, a separated and maimed branch) of Christ's Church, and because they have the Sacraments of Christ and an Apostolic ministry. "The multitudes of their converts really proves the presence in their missionaries of the Holy Spirit of God, and the reality of their membership in the one Church of Christ. If they were not in the Vine, they could not bring forth abundant fruit."[1] So writes Dr. Goudge with great truth. And as regards their Sacraments they have valid Sacraments because they obey Christ's commands and intend to do what Christ bade them. They receive the Holy Spirit in their ordinations because they obey the Apostolic rite of laying on of hands with prayer, and are a part of Christ's Church. Their Sacraments are imperfect, their Orders are maimed because of the broken unity of Christ's Church, but so also are ours, and so also are those of the Greek and Roman Churches. That we shall consider shortly. What I am concerned at present to maintain is that it is not possible to make any such distinction as is made between our Orders and theirs on the ground that they are without the Apostolic Succession.

And then, thirdly, if our study of the teaching of the Early Church be correct, and I have reason to think that it is so, this theory of the Apostolical Succession is untrue to Church history. It was not the theory held in the Early Church. It was not the theory held by St. Augustine. The Early Church quite definitely held that the bishops were the successors of the Apostles, but there is no evidence at all to shew that it considered that they held that position because they had received grace by transmission from the Apostles. They were the successors of the Apostles because they had been appointed by the Church to perform those functions which the Apostles had performed.

[1] *The Catholic Party and the Nonconformists*, by H. L. Goudge, D.D., Canon of Ely, p. 11.

And this, I believe, has been the regular teaching of the Church. Let me ask you to turn to that section of the supplement of the *Summa Theologica* which is devoted to the Sacrament of Orders. Occasionally, but not often, in the *Summa* we are reminded that bishops are the successors of the Apostles, but what has struck me as most remarkable in reading it is that I can find no hint of this doctrine of Apostolical Succession which we are told is the Catholic theory of Orders. There may be some reference somewhere in the *Summa* which I have overlooked, as I have not read the work through. But if this were at all the doctrine of that time, and if it was, as it has been maintained, an essential part of the teaching of the Catholic Church, there would not, I imagine, be any great difficulty in discovering it. I have searched with the object of finding it in the Canon Law and in writings such as those of van Espen, and in the decrees of the Council of Trent, and although I find the statement that bishops are the successors of the Apostles, I find nothing in them to support this theory of succession by Ordination. Most remarkable, too, is the fact that there is no reference to it in the Bull *Apostolicae Curae*. In fact, a theory is suggested which is quite inconsistent with it.[1] It is true that we find succession by Ordination stated with a confidence of assertion quite unequalled by Cardinal Vaughan and his fellow-bishops. But his manifesto contains many confident assertions, and I am afraid that in this case it looks as if he had been copying the doubtful theory of some of our Anglican divines.

Moreover, if this theory of Orders were necessary and essential, we should undoubtedly find it definitely laid down in our Anglican formularies. But I cannot personally find it anywhere, and the defenders of the doctrine do not make any

[1] I refer to the statement: "When anyone has rightly and seriously made use of the due form and matter requisite for effecting or conferring the Sacrament, he is considered by the fact itself to do what the Church does. On this principle rests the doctrine which holds that to be a true Sacrament which is conferred according to the Catholic rite by the ministry of a heretic or an unbaptized person." If these words were taken literally they would imply that anyone who used the right form and matter could celebrate a Sacrament, but they may be intended to refer only to unbelieving and heretical bishops.

attempt to quote such justification. What I would put to you is, By what right can we hold a doctrine to be essential which is not, so far as I know, to be found in any authoritative document of any portion of the Christian Church ?

We have examined here two different theories of Orders in the Church—that of the *character indelebilis*, and that of the Apostolic Succession—and we do not find any really Catholic sanction for either of them. What I believe to be true is this: our Lord instituted certain Sacraments which He gave to the Church, and the Apostles appointed ministers in the Church by prayer and laying on of hands. The Church from the beginning celebrated the Sacraments as our Lord commanded, and normally, no doubt, it would be the Apostles, if present, who presided at "the Breaking of the Bread." But in the early days in Jerusalem there were 5,000 believers. They met daily from house to house for the Breaking of the Bread. There must have been many meetings of Christians in houses for such a purpose at which no Apostles could be present, and we are not told of the existence of any other ministers. At any rate, the point which is of fundamental importance is that nothing at all is ever said in the New Testament enjoining any particular person or persons to be ministers of the Sacrament. If these things were essential they would have been definitely ordered. Although the Church, as we recognize, laid down definite rules at a later time, it was believed that if there were no minister present a layman might consecrate the Eucharist. This statement of Tertullian probably represented an authentic tradition.[1]

Now, at the Reformation much schism arose, and what-

[1] Tertullian argues that, a layman may do whatever a priest may do in case of necessity, and therefore is bound by the same discipline as a priest. If a priest must not marry twice, neither must a layman, for a layman is a priest. "Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit ecclesiae auctoritas, et honor per ordinis consessum sanctificatus. Adeo ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est consessus, et offers et tinguis et sacerdos es tibi solus. Sed ubi tres, ecclesia est, licet laici" (Tertullian, *De exhortatione castitatis*, chap. vii.). It is argued that these words were only used by Tertullian as a Montanist. But his aim clearly is to try and convert the Church to his views on digamy, and his argument would have little weight if not accepted by the Catholic Church. He is addressing Catholics and quoting what they believe.

ever may have been the fault of the Reformers, the fault of the Medieval Church was as great. The hierarchy of the day was the most potent cause of division. The Reformers, partly by misfortune, partly by design, revolted from the hierarchy. Of this revolt the hierarchy, as it then was, was the effective cause. Quite correctly and sincerely the Reformers aimed in their Sacraments and ministry at fulfilling the will of Christ. They did what He commanded. Their intention was to do what He had done. I believe, therefore, that in all those bodies which solemnly appoint their ministers by laying on of hands and prayer, and celebrate the Sacraments in accordance with our Lord's commands, the Orders and Sacraments are valid.

But now we come to a second order of facts. The Church, entrusted with the sacred gift of the Sacraments, and starting with the rules and customs of the Apostles, gradually laid down its rule of Orders. This rule was in a particular way directed to the promotion of unity. It was with that purpose that the Eucharist was made dependent on the bishop, that the offering of the gifts was the liturgical function of the regular ministry. It was with that purpose that the rules of episcopal ordination were accepted and made universal. A bishop was the officer, not merely of the local church, but of the Catholic Church. Therefore the Church, as a whole, must take part in his consecration, and to secure this the rule grew up that not fewer than three bishops of other churches must be present and take part in the ceremony. This rule was successful. The unity of the Church was preserved by a strong system of order. The local church was made conspicuously a part of the whole Catholic Church, and each generation was solemnly, by the visible sign of succession, connected with past generations. As an external sign of the unity and continuity of the Church, the fact of Apostolic Succession has been of supreme value.

We are aiming at the restoration of Christian unity. We are aiming at bringing together all the scattered fragments of Christ's Church, and we are asking what form the Church should take. It is both wise and natural to say that it is that form of Church Order which preserved Church

unity before. There are warnings which the study of the history of the early centuries can give us, there are some things which they did and said, which we had better avoid. But the Christian Church of those days did display a remarkable unity, and, so far as we can judge, no schism arose in any quarter on Church government. The theory of the Church was too narrow, but the unity of the Church was preserved and its freedom secured by a strong and elastic rule of Church Order.

And when the Church departed from the Catholic rule, the result was a loss of freedom and unity. The Papacy destroyed freedom, Protestantism destroyed unity and order. It is, then, not because I believe that the historical Episcopacy is necessary for valid Orders, but because I believe that it is necessary to secure Christian unity, that I hold that it must be the rule of a re-united Church.

Two things, then, are essential in the cause of reunion. The first is the fullest and freest recognition as a condition of reunion of the Orders and Sacraments of all those who have been ordained in accordance with the Apostolic rule with prayer and laying on of hands, and who have celebrated the Sacraments according to the command of our Lord. The second is the most careful adoption by the united Church of the historical Episcopate and the rule of episcopal ordination for all its ministry in the future.

V

The third point that demands our consideration is union in the Sacraments and prayers; in particular union in the chief Sacrament of the Christian Church—the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. To that problem we will now address ourselves.[1]

The Holy Communion was intended to be the great Christian Sacrament of unity. How comes it, then, that it is the great, at any rate the apparent, cause of Christian disunion? In humbly partaking of the bread and wine which had been blessed and broken in obedience to their Master's

[1] The greater part of this section is taken from a sermon which was preached before the University of Oxford on June 9, 1901, and published in the *Oxford Magazine* for June 12,

command, the early Christians felt that they were united in one body in Him; at each place to which they travelled they found a community of fellow-believers with whom they became one in the life-giving Body and Blood of their ascended Lord. In strange, enigmatical language the bishop of an obscure town in Phrygia, who had travelled to Rome in the West and Nisibis in the East, has recorded on his tomb how "everywhere he had associates. In company with Paul he followed, while everywhere faith led the way, and set before him for food the fish from the fountain, mighty and stainless (whom a pure virgin grasped), and gave these to friends to eat always, having good wine and giving the mixed cup with bread."[1]

So it was. Now we may travel from country to country, and everywhere we are conscious that it is just from that rite in which we might be united with the devout Christians of every country that we are excluded, while in our own land we are everywhere surrounded by those of many sects and many names with whom we have no communion in the Body and Blood of Christ. And if we look forward in any spirit of hope to Christian reunion, at once we are confronted by the question, Where can there be any union among those who differ so much on a subject of such transcendent importance? It seems to be a theme that it is almost presumptuous to touch upon, but may I be allowed to suggest what I believe to be the only possible method for remedying it?

Let me ask you to look first at the account of the institution, and consider what it implies. I do not know or care now to discuss the critical questions involved. It seems to me that the distrust of the narrative, I do not say of every detail of the narrative, must arise from a confirmed predisposition to disbelieve the miraculous element in the Christian story. If Jesus instituted the Eucharist in any way at all resembling the narratives we possess, it implies clearly a consciousness of a more than human mission, a preknow-

[1] The epitaph of Abercius, Bishop of Hieropolis, may be read most conveniently in *Christian Inscriptions*, by H. P. V. Nunn (London: S.P.C.K.), p. 23. A full account of its discovery with reference to the earlier literature will be found in Lightfoot, *Ignatius and Polycarp*, i., p. 476.

ledge of His death, and of the meaning of His death, a prophetic intimation of the Christian Church. Naturally those who are unable to believe this must find some reason for dismissing the whole narrative or for modifying it to suit their prejudices. For our purpose it is sufficient to dwell on the main features of the story as given us by at least three independent witnesses—all certainly early—and as supported by the practice of the Christian Church from the beginning. The Lord's Supper was instituted at the time of the Passover—whether actually at a Paschal meal or not we cannot determine—when men's minds were filled with all the conceptions and ideas associated with the great sacrificial rite of the Old Covenant; and all the leading ideas of what was passing away are represented in the new rite. The Passover was the great feast of the Covenant. In it the Jew felt and realized his full communion with the chosen people, and he shared in the privilege of being united with Jehovah in the bonds of the Covenant. "Behold Israel after the flesh: are not they which eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar?" The Passover implied probably three things at least. It was a memorial of the great redemption of Israel in Egypt, and in that of all the mercies of God vouchsafed to His chosen people; it was the external symbol of union with the body of Israel, the assembly of the saints; it was the means by which each, in partaking of the sacred meal, realized for himself all the spiritual blessings that he shared in as a true Israelite. I do not think that this would exhaust the associations and ideas connected with the Passover, for there was no authorized theology; it was a rite and service, not a doctrine. What was demanded was that the sacrifice should be duly eaten: in an attitude of obedience came the spiritual blessing and the doctrinal knowledge.

The Christian Sacrament succeeded to and inherited the conceptions of the Jewish sacrifice. "Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us, therefore let us keep the feast." As the Paschal lamb without spot or blemish was slain, so Christ, the lamb without sin, died on the Cross; as the blood was poured forth on the altar, so Christ shed His blood as an atonement for our sins; as the Israelite shared in the benefits

of the Covenant by partaking of the sacrificial meal which implied for Jew and Gentile alike union with the divine, so the Christian received all the benefits of his redemption in Christ by devoutly partaking of what his Master had called His Body and Blood. And the analogy which was implied in the common expression of the Early Church, the Unbloody Sacrifice, was complete. In the Eucharist, as in the Passover, was the continual remembrance of a great scheme of redemption; in the Eucharist was the visible sign of brotherly unity; in the Eucharist was the spiritual blessing implied in the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ. In the Eucharist, as in the Passover, the primary thought was a rite to be accomplished, a command obeyed, not a doctrine accepted.

If we ask, then, what is the fundamental idea of the Eucharist, it is that it is a religious ordinance, something in which the primary command was not that we were to believe anything, but to do something. "This do in remembrance of me" is the command: not to believe anything, or to understand anything, or to accept any particular words in any particular way; the command was to "do" something. Now, if we pass to the thoughts and ideas of people at the present day, we find that they approach the Holy Communion from an exactly opposite and, I believe, quite erroneous point of view. The emphasis is not laid upon obedience to a command, but on a particular form of belief, or on a particular comprehension of a divine mystery. Hence the unity of our Christian worship is continually being broken, and the reality of our devotion marred, by discussions of problems in which we are unable, and were never intended, to arrive at a conclusion.

I wish to put before you to-day three main propositions. First, that the emphasis on the particular form of belief in the Eucharist is quite contrary to all the feelings and beliefs of the undivided Christian Church. Secondly, that the chief cause of division between different bodies of Christians has been the attempt to make dogmatic systems on questions of Eucharistic belief. And, thirdly, that the only hope of Christian union is not in any formula to which all may agree, but in recognizing that all can join in accepting a common

Liturgical worship; for so far as worship is concerned, there is—if men would only look at what they believe, and not at what they do not believe—among all devout minds, a real and genuine common ground of belief.

1. As regards the customs of the undivided Church, one single instance will enable us to appreciate their point of view. We happen to have a course of catechetical instruction which was delivered in Jerusalem about the middle of the fourth century.[1] The writer devoted a long course of lectures to explaining, illustrating, and defending the Christian creed, the acceptance of which was the main obligation of Baptism. He was concerned that everyone should possess a right belief in a right way. On the night of the baptism those who were candidates for the sacred rite assembled in their white robes; they were bathed in the life-giving waters, and immediately the ceremony was over were conducted from the baptistery to the church that they might share in the Christian mysteries. Of the nature, meaning, and character of these mysteries they were given no knowledge beforehand. It was only afterwards that the explanation was given. Theologians are continually disputing as to the exact meaning of the language that Cyril used. They try to discover in it Transubstantiation, or Consubstantiation, or the doctrine of the Real Presence, or to see how they may escape from one or other of these alternatives. They forget that Cyril was not concerned with any such questions. While he is teaching the divinity of our Lord, he is anxious that his meaning should not be misunderstood. He is concerned with the orthodoxy of his hearers. Now he is concerned only with their practical devotion, and so, while he is anxious that they should grasp all that is implied in the Eucharist, he is not concerned with their being able to express in any orthodox manner their belief.

We may extend this principle farther. We find constant attempts made to define the Patristic belief, or the belief of the Early Church in the Holy Communion. This is a process which is perfectly easy so long as we confine our attention to such passages as harmonize with the conclu-

[1] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures*, xix.–xxiii., "To the newly baptized."

sions that we wish to arrive at. If we once honestly look at all the passages which can be collected, we shall find that it is impossible. And, more than that, we shall find that many passages which seem to teach what men would call an extreme doctrine are balanced by others which modify or nullify that belief.[1]

Is there, then, no Catholic heritage, it may be asked, of Eucharistic teaching? Has the Church never spoken or given a decision? There is a heritage, but it is not a defined doctrine, it is one of Eucharistic worship. The command of our Lord was to do something, not to formulate a belief. This command the Church obeyed; its belief is contained in the ecclesiastical traditions of liturgical worship, but the tradition must be used for worship, and not for dogma. In every branch of the Church there is the inheritance of a liturgical form. This contains, expressed in the only way that is necessary, the belief of the Church. These forms are older than the days of controversy. Their language is independent of it. All the Liturgies are perfectly consistent with almost any attempt to define Eucharistic doctrine. In accepting the Liturgies as our common standard—for worship, not for definition—lies our hope for the future.

2. So long as the Church avoided definition there was little discussion on the Eucharist, but Eucharistic worship was the centre of all Church life. With definition has come disunion. I need not enter now into the causes which produced the change. It is sufficient to remember that first of all the theory of Transubstantiation was formulated, that that theory was made a necessary article of belief, that on the basis of it was built up a whole structure of doctrine and practice quite alien to the custom and tradition of earlier centuries, and that the establishment of the Inquisition prevented that free discussion which might have proved a silent corrective to the evils of practice and doctrine which had arisen. It was the suppression of the healthy processes and forces of public opinion which made the Reformation in the form in which it took place necessary, and made

[1] This will become clear from a careful study of Dr. Darwell Stone, *History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.*

the Reformed churches reproduce and continue some of the worst faults of the Medieval Church. The age of doctrinal definition arose; the Schoolmen had tried to leave no open questions, but their decisions were not considered binding on the conscience of the Church. Many of the Reformers attempted equally strongly to define everything; they attempted also to impose their individual opinions on their followers. They defined also not what a man must believe, but what he must not. The Roman Church had set a bad example in its definition of Transubstantiation. It had built up what is almost universally admitted to have been a corrupt practical system. The Reformers felt it necessary to define as clearly and as loudly what they did not believe, and to prevent the corrupt practices by condemning the erroneous belief. As, when they came to make their definitions, they found that it was impossible to secure agreement either positive or negative among themselves, they multiplied the creeds and the divisions of Christianity.

Our own Church has shewn a singular moderation in this as in many other directions. It has never attempted to formulate its belief. It has given us a Liturgy which is in accordance with Catholic tradition; it has condemned Transubstantiation and Zwinglianism; between these limits it is admitted that our belief is free. But if the Church has thus recognized that definition of Eucharistic belief is not essential, parties within the Church have not recognized this. On the one side there has been a constant tendency to impose, on the other an equally constant tendency to condemn, certain specific forms of belief. Whether or no we are prepared to accept the doctrine of the objective Real Presence, it is, in the form in which it has been taught, quite consistent with the doctrine and the formulas of the Church of England; yet a great theologian was suspended from preaching for two years for defending the doctrine in the pulpit of this University; on the other side we are constantly hearing it stated that this or that form of belief is not loyal to the Church. One tells us that Hooker, another that Waterland, another that Pusey represents the teaching of our Church. But the Church of England is broader than Hooker or Waterland or Pusey, as the Church of Christ means more than

Augustine or Chrysostom or Aquinas or Calvin. A new word is invented now, "objective." It is a word which it would puzzle philosophers to define, and I know no authority which should compel us to make up our mind whether what we believe so earnestly is correctly to be defined as real or objective, spiritual or substantial.

Some years ago a conference was held of divines of the English Church in order to arrive at some compromise or common ground on the doctrine of the Eucharist.[1] Very soon it became apparent that the main subject which was to be discussed was whether it was the glorified body of our Lord, or that under which He suffered, that was present to us in the Eucharist. Does this honestly seem a question on which it is either necessary, or desirable, or possible to make up our minds? It may be an interesting subject of speculation—and reverent speculation in divine things is a valuable discipline for the mind—but can anyone say that it is a subject upon which any conclusion that we arrive at can be more than tentative? Yet that conference will suggest to us a very practical solution of our difficulties. A body of sober and wise theologians had met together. It became apparent at once that to all alike the Holy Communion was a service infinitely sacred; all believed in the undoubted spiritual benefit that they could attain by it; to all it represented a great element of their religious life; yet each expressed his belief in a different manner, nor could a common definition have been possible, except by omitting all the various subjects of dispute. Yet all were ready quite loyally to accept as the language of their public Eucharistic worship the service of the English Prayer-Book. Some might wish it enriched, some might desire to eliminate different elements; yet on the basis of that they can all unite so far as the language of worship goes. Is not this significant, and does it not suggest that our right solution of the many difficulties which arise must be the acceptance of a common worship, not the formularization of a common doctrine of the Eucharist?

[1] *The Doctrine of Holy Communion and its Expression in Ritual.* Report of a Conference held at Fulham Palace in October, 1900. Edited by Henry Wace, D.D., Chairman of the Conference. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1900.

3. I would maintain, then, that ultimately it must be in the common or mutual acceptance of a liturgical service that unity among Christians is possible But it may be said such a union will be unreal, for it will be in such very different ways that the same service is accepted by all. I do not think so. Let us hear the words of a leading Evangelical divine: "I believe that if our eyes, like those of Elisha's servant at Dothan, were opened to the unseen, we should indeed behold our Lord present at our Communions. There and then, assuredly, if anywhere and at any time, He remembers His promise, 'Where two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them.' Such special presence, the promised congregational presence, is perfectly mysterious in mode, but absolutely true in fact; no creation of our imagination, or emotion, but an object for our faith. . . . I believe that we should worship Him thus present in the midst of us in His living grace, with unspeakable reverence, thanksgiving, joy, and love. We should revere the Bread and the Wine with a proper sense of their sacredness as given by Him in physical assurance of our joyful part, as believers in Him, and so as members of Him, in all the benefits of His passion. Receiving them, while beholding Him, we should, through them as His equivalent signs of His once sacrificed Body and Blood, take deep into us a fresh certainty of our perfect acceptance in Him our Sacrifice, and also of our mystical union with Him as He, once dead, now lives for us and in us, thus feeding on Him in the heart, by faith, with thanksgiving."[1]

I have purposely omitted in this quotation certain statements of what the writer does not believe, because it is not of importance really to know what is not a man's faith. To learn his spiritual life and power we must know what he does believe. And I put it to you, Will not such a man be as devout, as reverent a communicant, as any believer in Transubstantiation? Is he not as conscious of the supernatural in our midst? Are not to him the spiritual gifts of the Holy Communion, and the divine presence at the Sacrament, realities for which he could give his life? Is not the service, then, as real, as full of meaning, to him as to the

[1] Dr. Moule in *Doctrine of Holy Communion*, pp. 72, 73.

most devout High Churchman? Is there any barrier but that of words to keep him and them apart?

It is, then, in our mutual acceptance of our common Liturgy that we can all unite. It is in that only that we do unite, and I would suggest that we should recognize that and banish all articles or dogmatic definitions, whether positive or negative. The use of the service is a sufficient standard. There is no need to condemn anything either positively or negatively. We must not be too anxious to raise anyone to a certain point of belief. It is both futile and unnecessary to condemn Transubstantiation. It is unnecessary because the word in its literal signification no one desires to accept; it is futile because all that it implies is held quite loyally by some members of our own Church. The Church, of course, may and will direct the teaching of her clergy by catechisms or other authorized formulas, but that is a different thing. It is one thing to bind a man's conscience, it is another to direct his devotions. It is one thing to bid our clergy teach in a certain manner, it is quite another thing to assert that any erroneous opinion is so definitely untrue that we banish from our communion or our clergy anyone who holds it. A sober standard of doctrine in the Eucharist is more likely to be gained by simply accepting the Church standard of worship than by attempting to force men's minds within the limits of a formula.

And if it is, as a matter of fact, in our Liturgy that the Church of England unites, it is, I believe, in its Liturgies alone that the Christian Church will ever be able to unite. All alike, the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, the Roman Canon of the Mass, in everything that is essential, are older than our controversies. I am quite certain that whatever criticism he may be inclined to offer concerning it, no loyal English Churchman need shrink from the Eucharistic teaching of the Roman Mass. "The Canon of the Mass," said Dean Field, "rightly understood is found to contain nothing in it contrary to the rule of faith and the profession of the Protestant churches."[1] An ex-Roman priest writes: "I, who in the years 1879–1883 have said Mass according to the Roman rite over 1,000 times, and who now hold that

[1] See the quotations from Field given by Dr. Wace, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

no change in the elements takes place, could still, I think, say Mass according to that rite with spiritual profit and devotion."[1] I need not multiply testimonies. I have preferred to cite those of authors who are undoubtedly what is called Protestant as likely to carry more weight than any words of mine. The teaching of the Church is to be followed by rightly using the Liturgies that it has given, not by attempting to construct theories out of them.

My conclusion, then, is this: That the great mistake that the Christian Church has made from the Middle Ages to the present day is to have attempted to define dogmatically what no human language can define and what it has never been intended that the Church should define, and that we shall never end our many troubles concerning the Eucharist until we have been willing to dispense entirely with definitions; and this I would say not intending to depreciate or lower our Eucharistic worship. Definition does not explain, it limits and curtails. To any devout worshipper, whatever his theory may be, the Eucharist is infinitely more than theology would make us realize. In it we feel that we are in the presence of the Unseen more really than at any other time; in it we remember not the Passion only, but the whole redeeming work of Christ; humbly bending before His throne we ask Him to hear us not for what we are, but for what we are in Him; there we plead before Him as He pleads for us by all the mercies of His atoning death; there we feel ourselves united with Him, and in Him with the whole Church, both those on earth and those already resting in Him; there we can pray for His mercy on all whom we love and on all Christian people; thence we can rise strengthened and refreshed in newness of life, to go forth into the world honestly, uprightly, purely living for Him and in Him, strengthened by His presence, warmed by His love, comforted by His pity, purified by His grace, with our minds turned from evil and our hearts set upon the things of God and His righteousness. There, too, we can continually pray that more and more He will vouchsafe to unite in one

[1] Rev. A. W. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

body and in the unity of the one Sacrament all who—in whatever way, and whatever place—however inadequately or imperfectly, confess His Holy Name.

VI

I have tried in these two lectures to define certain principles on which it may be possible to build up a united Church, and I will shortly enumerate them.

1. The Holy Catholic Church consists of all baptized Christians who believe in the Lord Jesus, wherever dispersed on the face of the earth.

2. It is the purpose of God that all these should be united together in one Church, but owing to human sin and self-will this Church is divided and rent asunder. It is the duty of all Christians to work for its reunion.

3. The purpose and foundation of this Church must be belief in Christ as He has been revealed to us. That means the acceptance of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as they have been handed down to us. Further, as the Christian Church has formulated its belief in a Creed which has had such a wide acceptance as to be almost universal, we may accept it as the will of God that we should make that Creed the sufficient expression of our belief in Him, should accept it as an adequate basis of union, and should impose no other statement of belief as necessary to be accepted by all men.

4. Christ ordained two Sacraments—Baptism and the Communion of His Body and Blood—and instituted a ministry for His Church. These Sacraments, therefore, and such a ministry are necessary for His Church. In the present divided and imperfect state of the Church all those who celebrate the Sacraments according to the command of our Lord and with the full intention of fulfilling His will, and who appoint their ministers as His Apostles did with prayer and the laying on of hands, must be held to have valid Sacraments and Orders; but to create a united Church, which shall be a real organic union, we must follow that which became the universal rule of the whole Church, and is even now accepted by the vast majority of Christians, and accept the traditional ministry of Episcopacy and epis-

copal ordinations, and administer these in a careful and orderly way.

There are other rites and customs of varying degrees of authority; many of them wholesome elements in any Christian community, but we cannot make them essential to Christian reunion.

5. Christ ordained His Sacraments as rules of life and devotion, and not as articles of belief. What is essential is that, by our manner of celebrating them, we should make clear that we intend to fulfil His will. We should have no necessary rule of faith about the Eucharist any more than the Church for the first 1,200 years of its history. Many of the evils of disunion have come from an attempt to define what cannot be defined.

I would put these before you as principles of Christian reunion. I do not expect them to win immediate acceptance, but I ask anyone who is concerned with these things to ponder over them, to ask what are his own principles, and also to ask what is possible. I will only confine myself in conclusion to dealing with the two main classes of objections which may be raised.

There are those who would think that this which I have sketched is too elaborate. It is not in their opinion the simpleness of the Gospel. I would ask them to think of three things. I would ask them to remember that every society must have a definite expression of purpose and a definite constitution. All experience shews that what is too elaborate hampers life and growth, but without some coherent principle of belief and coherent principle of order there will be nothing but anarchy and chaos. The Church cannot live on a basis of emotion and goodwill without any embodiment of its principles, any more than human life would be possible without an organic framework and a rigid skeleton. I would ask them to remember next that Christianity is an historical religion, and that it must be true to that history. We cannot cut ourselves off from our past; it would be as fatal to our life as it would be to uproot a tree. Our beliefs, our hopes, and our aspirations depend upon the past. We must put ourselves into the line of historical authority. And then, thirdly, I would ask them to remember that this inspiration

from the past as the grounds of our hope for the future is the accepted principle of almost every section of the Christian Church. They know they cannot cut themselves off from the past. No reunion is possible except on the recognition of Christianity as an historical religion and in loyalty to the historical expression of it.

Then, next, I would say something to those who would exclaim that I was leaving out so much of the Catholic facts, of traditional Christianity. Let me remind you once more of what St. Augustine says:

> "My opinion therefore is, that wherever it is possible, all these things should be abolished without hesitation, which neither have warrant in Holy Scripture, nor are found to have been appointed by councils of bishops, nor are confirmed by the practice of the universal Church, but are so infinitely various, according to the different customs of different places, that it is with difficulty, if at all, that the reason which guided men in appointing them can be discovered. For even although nothing be found, perhaps, in which they are against the true faith, yet the Christian religion, which God in His mercy made free, appointing to her Sacraments very few in number, and very easily observed, is by these burdensome ceremonies so oppressed, that the conditions of the Jewish Church itself is preferable."

The necessary elements of the Christian faith are few, and it is the right and wise course to insist on them only. If you really mean reunion, it is only possible if you reduce what you demand from others to things which you feel that you can rightly insist on. If you desire to impose every custom of the Anglican Church, you may remain always in your insular isolation. If you insist only on what is essential and really Catholic you may restore the complete tradition of the Church. For what the fullest and richest religious life demands is, on the one hand, a firm and simple faith; on the other, the widest intellectual freedom. It is not the scepticism of the modernist nor the rigidity of the traditionalist that presents us with Christianity in its most complete

form, but the Church which has a firm belief in Christ as its inspiration, and a mind responsive to everything which Christian tradition has handed down or the human intellect inspired by God's spirit may discern.

APPENDIX TO LECTURE VII

THE following is the complete text of the review by Monseigneur Duchesne referred to above (p. 248):

Bulletin Critique, V., No. 14, 15 juillet, 1894 (Paris: Thorin et Fils), p. 262. *Les Ordinations anglicanes*, par FERNAND DALBUS (Arras: Sueur-Chavoney, imprimeur, 1894, brochure de 40 pages in-8°).

L'auteur de cette brochure s'est attaqué à une question de grande importance; il l'a traitée avec beaucoup de soin et une parfaite loyauté. Cependant si ses prémisses me semblent tout à fait sûres, je crois devoir en déduire des conclusions tout opposées aux siennes.

M. Dalbus commence par établir que les évêques Parker et Barlow, de qui tout le clergé anglican tient son ordination, ont été réellement ordonnés, ou du moins que l'on n'est nullement fondé à contester leur ordination. D'autre part, le rituel de l'Église anglicane est semblable, en substance, au rituel de l'Église grecque, et même de l'Église latine jusqu'au XII^e^ siècle. Conclusion: les ministres de l'Église anglicane sont aussi bien ordonnés que pouvaient l'être Grégoire de Tours, Hincmar de Reims et autres clercs latins des temps anciens.

Mais cette conclusion, M. Dalbus s'abstient de la tirer, car il y a des difficultés: 1° quant à l'intention des consécrateurs à certains moments de la succession historique; 2° contre la valeur du rituel anglican actuel, l'Église romaine ayant ajouté au sien certains appendices que l'on néglige en Angleterre.

A la première difficulté je réponds que l'intention, dans les limites où la réclame la règle catholique, *intentio faciendi quod facit Ecclesia*, doit être présumée jusqu'à preuve du contraire. Il y a eu, en dehors de l'Angleterre, des évêques incrédules; n'oublions pas qu'une partie du clergé français dérive son ordination de M. de Talleyrand. Si l'on me dit que l'Église entend, en conférant l'ordination, conférer un sacrement, qu'elle reconnait à ce sacrement telle ou telle efficacité dans le domaine de la liturgie, de la pénitence, ou autres, et que, d'autre part, soit par tel ou tel prélat, soit par l'Église anglicane elle-même il a été enseigné sur ces points des choses différentes de celles qui sont reçues dans l'Église romaine, je répondrai que cela importe peu à l'intention et à la valeur du rite. Le baptême peut être conféré validement par une personne qui sait seulement que c'est un rite sacré par lequel on devient chrétien. De même, les ordinations anglicanes ont toujours été célébrées par des personnes qui voulaient faire des évêques, des prêtres, et ainsi de suite. Il n'en faut pas demander davantage.

Quant à l'objection tirée des modifications du rituel, elle n'est pas plus admissible. Cette objection concerne seulement l'ordination des prêtres. Les scolastiques ont admis que, pour cette ordination, l'essentiel du rite (*materia et forma*) consiste dans la tradition des vases sacrés et dans les paroles que l'évêque prononce en

les remettant. Maintenant ce système est abandonné; il est trop clair que, pour le soutenir, il faudrait considérer comme nulles toutes les ordinations grecques et orientales, et même toutes celles de l'Église latine avant le XIe ou le XIIe siècle.

Je sais que l'on s'en tire en disant que l'Église a pouvoir sur les rites essentiels des sacrements, et qu'elle a fait usage de ce pouvoir en modifiant la matière et la forme de l'ordination. C'est très bien; mais, en choses de cette gravité, ce n'est pas des combinaisons de théologien qu'il faut mettre en ligne, ce sont des décisions officielles de l'Église. Or, ou est 1° l'acte officiel, public, explicite, par lequel l'Église s'est reconnu le droit dont on parle ? 2° l'acte officiel, public, explicite, par lequel elle a déclaré user de ce droit pour les rites essentiels de l'ordination ? J'ajouterai que l'on pourrait demander aussi dans quel intérêt elle aurait introduit un changement aussi considérable.

Cette objection, du reste, n'atteindrait pas les ordinations épiscopales d'Angleterre, car, dans le rituel latin de l'ordination des évêques, la tradition des instruments n'a pas et n'a jamais eu la situation de rite essentiel. Et qu'on ne dise pas qu'on ne saurait être consacré évêque d'une manière valide, si d'abord, on n'a reçu validement l'ordination presbytérale. L'antiquité ecclésiastique est pleine d'histoires d'ordinations épiscopales célébrées sans que les degrés inférieurs eussent été préalablement conférés. Nombre de papes ont été promus directement du diaconat à l'épiscopat. Ce n'est que depuis le déclin du XIe siècle que la coutume contraire s'est établie à Rome et que les diacres élus papes se sont fait d'abord ordonner prêtres.

La suite de tout cela, c'est que les ordinations anglicanes peuvent être considerées comme valides. Je sais qu'à Rome l'opinion contraire est, non pas imposée en théorie, mais traduite en pratique, et que les ministres convertis sont réordonnés, avant d'être admis à continuer leurs fonctions dans l'Église catholique. Mais l'Église romaine a le droit et le devoir de tenir compte des scrupules de ses fidèles. Dans l'état actuel de l'opinion, peu de catholiques accepteraient les sacrements d'un ministre qu'ils sauraient n'avoir reçu d'autre ordination que celle de l'Église anglicane. En ces matières, il est naturel de multiplier les garanties.

Que si, de la pratique et de l'opinion d'à présent, on remonte au temps où elles se sont introduites, il faut bien reconnaître qu'au XVIe siècle, l'état des informations sur l'antiquité liturgique n'était pas tel qu'il fût prudent de contester les théories des scolastiques. Jugées d'après ces théories, alors universellement admises dans le monde orthodoxe, les ordinations anglicanes devaient être considérées comme invalides ou comme suspectes. Joignez à cela les légendes répandues de bonne heure sur Parker et Barlow, vous aurez plus qu'il n'en faut pour expliquer la genèse de l'usage romain et de l'opinion catholique.

Rien n'empêche de croire que, par la suite des temps, cette opinion se corrige et que l'autorité ecclésiastique elle-même n'en vienne à modifier son attitude. Dieu me garde de lui donner des conseils, et, n'étant que Gros Jean, de vouloir en remontrer à mon curé. Mais il n'est pas inutile que l'attention de ceux qui ont voix au chapitre, soit appelée sur les questions de cet ordre.

L. DUCHESNE.

LECTURE VIII

REUNION

"*Let nothing be done through strife or vainglory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves. Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others.*"—PHIL. ii. 3, 4.

St. Augustine and the British bishops. The right attitude of mind towards Reunion.

The ideal of Reunion. Inadequacy of federations. The wrong methods of approach. Interchange of pulpit and irregular intercommunion. Necessity of a wise scheme.

Relations to Episcopal Churches. Recognition of Orders and careful regulation for the future. The Moravians. The Scandinavian Churches. Confirmation. The Greek Orthodox Church. The *filioque*. The Church of Rome. Orders. Freedom. Jurisdiction.

Non-Episcopal National Churches. The Church of Scotland. Relations to Church of England. Proposals for Reunion.

The English Nonconformists. The creation of one National Church. Unity without uniformity. Unity in prayers and Sacraments.

Conclusion. The two main principles. Recognition of Orders and acceptance of Episcopacy. Authority of the Church. The only possible basis. Obstacles to Reunion. Nonconformist. Anglo-Catholic. Need of reconciliation.

THE Venerable Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History of England* tells a story of St. Augustine, the first occupant of the See of Canterbury, which may be profitable to us at the present time. He rightly desired to unite the newly founded Church of the English with the old British Church. To that end conferences were arranged. At the first British bishops and doctors, impressed by a miracle which the Saint had wrought, were favourably inclined to hear him, and a larger conference was summoned. The deputation of seven British bishops, of many learned men, especially of monks from the great monastery of Bangor, while on their way to the conference, sought the advice of a holy and wise man who lived as an anchorite. They asked

him whether, in obedience to the preaching of St. Augustine, they should desert the traditions of their fathers. He replied: "If he is a man of God, follow him." They asked: "How can we know that?" The anchorite said: "The words of the Lord are, 'Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart.' If that man Augustine is meek and lowly of heart, you can trust that he bears the yoke of Christ himself, and offers it to you: but if he is arrogant and proud, then he comes not from God, and his words do not concern us." They said again: "How can we learn this then?" "Arrange," he replied, "that he and his followers come first to the place of the meeting. If, when you approach, he rises up, you may know that he is a servant of Christ, and may hear him readily; but if he despises you and will not rise up when you approach, though you are many more in number, let him, too, be despised by you." They did as he advised. When they approached St. Augustine he remained seated. Angry at his pride they refused to listen to him, and although Augustine shewed no lack of statesmanship in his proposals the conference failed.

I think this story has a lesson for us. One of the most fruitful causes of Christian division is the spirit which, perhaps unconsciously, animated St. Augustine, the assumption of ecclesiastical superiority. We, like him, would desire to heal the divisions of Christianity and to build up again our National Church. Whether we are successful or not must depend largely on the spirit in which we approach other religious bodies. If we approach them with any feeling of conscious superiority, if we hail them as schismatics and bid them return to the unity of the Church, our cries will be in vain. But if we approach them with no feeling of superiority, if we confess that we, like them, are responsible for the schisms which have rent asunder the Church, if we invite them as equals to confer on the conditions under which Reunion may be possible, then our voice may be heard.

The bishops of the Anglican Communion are to meet together under the successor of St. Augustine. More than thirteen hundred years afterwards the same problem con-

fronts us. Perhaps, if we are meek and lowly of heart, if we humbly go forward to meet one another in a spirit of peace and charity, that problem may not be insoluble.

I

Let us ask first what we are aiming at. I have put before you in these lectures the conception of Christian unity as it was presented by the undivided Church. The Church thus depicted for us was a living organic whole. There is no excessive uniformity. In fact, when we come to examine the picture closely we find remarkable varieties both of teaching and practice. But no one can doubt the real unity of the whole Christian society. It always seems to me that the fact that one of the greatest of the early Archbishops of Canterbury, Theodore, was a Greek of Tarsus is a striking illustration of this. No doubt there were already differences in those days between the rites of East and West, as there undoubtedly were in the theology, but a bishop or priest from any one part of the Christian world could take his place in any other Church that he visited on terms of equality, without doubt or hesitation. It is a real unity such as that that we would aim at, and that must imply, I think, a conscious unity of faith and a common form of organization. It must imply, also, a complete absence of over-rigidity and a determination before we can accomplish it to divest ourselves so far as we can of our Western and Anglican point of view. There are some of us very Western in our sympathies: we must attempt to think like a Greek, or a Russian, or an Armenian. There are some of us very Anglican: we must try and look at things as a Lutheran or Presbyterian or Congregationalist would do. And so also we must ask the Easterns to try and think as do the Westerns, and the Presbyterians and Wesleyans and Congregationalists must learn to think as Anglicans and Orthodox. For it is a real organic unity that we desire.

Now I cannot but think that this is not what many people have in their mind. What they desire is a sort of

loose federation of churches. The different bodies are to remain much as they are. There is to be no attempt at approximation between them, no indelicate inquiries on faith, on order, on discipline. We are to go on being divided, but occasionally we are to ask one another to preach in our churches, and we are from time to time to receive the Communion together. We are, in fact, to substitute for the ideal of a Catholic Church a sort of glorified Free Church Council.

Now I think to be content with such an ideal is just what is likely to make all our efforts unsuccessful. It is that, I am sure, that is arousing so much opposition in a section of the English Church. To many people it seems that these proposals to begin in a sort of irregular way with the interchange of pulpits and with intercommunion are just wrong. That they have been made with excellent intentions and in the very best spirit is undoubted, but it is equally true that they seem to many to violate every principle of faith and order. St. Paul did tell us to keep the unity of the faith and to do all things decently and in order. We in the Church of England have, as other churches have, certain principles of faith and order which we have received from our fathers and in which we and our fathers before us have lived for many generations. It may well be that these principles need some revision. But is it right suddenly, in reply to an emotional demand, to say, "We care for none of these things. We will throw them all over. We will act as if our principles and our rules and traditions did not matter"?

I would ask you to believe me that that is not the way to approach such a question as Reunion. The attitude that I would suggest to all those who are anxious to bring Christians nearer together is quite different. Let them say, "We are divided on questions of faith and order. We feel that on all sides there are many false assumptions. Let us meet together and attempt to come to an understanding. Let us make up our minds what we consider to be really the Christian Church, and how it should be constituted. What is that fundamental Christianity on which we should unite? What was our Lord's intention

about the ministry and Sacraments? Let us put aside every prejudice and discuss these together. Let us attempt in that way to discover the basis of Reunion. I think we may discover it."

But the methods that are being proposed are just those that are likely to defeat their own aims. I do not think that the great body of English Churchmen would care in the least to give up their ordered system for any sort of religious federation. They will be ready to reconsider everything for the sake of Reunion.

Let me take another point, intercommunion. The fundamental reason against intercommunion of the kind suggested is not doubts about Orders or Sacraments. It is the fact that we are disunited. Intercommunion such as is proposed would be just as irregular with the Roman Church and the Greek Orthodox Church as it is with the Presbyterians or Congregationalists. Our separations have arisen owing to differences not considered light or unimportant on faith and order. Many of the differences still exist. The badge and symbol of that separation are still enshrined in our formularies. It may be that we consider them now meaningless and unimportant. I dare say we do. But if that be so let our churches through their representatives formally meet together and discuss these differences. Let us make up our minds in what we disagree and then terminate our disunion. When that is done, then let us meet together in the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ as the symbol of restored communion. But do not think that a half-sincere and wholly emotional common Communion will be a sound step towards Reunion. I do not mean that the occasional admission of the members of other religious bodies when in danger of death or without their own religious administrations is not right. No rules should ever be pressed too rigidly. What I mean is that the proposed corporate Communion for those who are not united will do nothing but hinder Reunion, for it will not be wholly sincere.

And it is the same about preaching. The proposed interchange of pulpits is a breach of Church order. Now I never think that any merely ecclesiastical rule should be

looked upon as so binding that it cannot be broken, if there is any good result to be attained. There are rules which fall into desuetude and are abrogated by being found needless or inconvenient. Many of those who are keen about some rules steadily ignore others, or, what is worse, evade them by some equivocation. But what good does conduct like that really do? It will please some perhaps; but it will irritate others. It will not help us to solve any fundamental questions. Interchange of pulpits among those who are not yet agreed on the fundamental principles of faith and order must be insincere; it should follow agreement, not prepare for it.

It is said that there is a real demand for Reunion. I believe that is the case. I believe that an overwhelming body of the laity of England would vote for a well-thought-out and rational scheme of Reunion, that they would sacrifice a great many prejudices to bring it about, and that they resent bitterly the action of some sections of the religious world who seem to them to devote all their powers to putting unnecessary obstacles in the way. But the way to meet that desire is for the theologians and the authorities of the different religious bodies to meet together and put before them a scheme to reject or accept. It is not to cause friction and irritation by making proposals which never touch the fundamental questions.

I would put it before you, then, that what we have all to do is to think out for ourselves what we mean by the Church, what we mean by Orders, what are the conditions of a valid Sacrament, what should be the basis of Christian Reunion.

II

Let us now consider the relations of the Church of England to other branches of Christianity, and sketch the lines on which we might formulate a policy of Reunion.

We begin with those Churches which have Episcopacy. These are the Roman Catholic Church, the Greek Orthodox Church, the Separated Churches of the East, the Scandinavian Churches, the Moravians, the Old Catholics, and the Jansenists. Now these may be divided into those that are

doubtful about us, and those about whom we are doubtful. On the one side there is the Roman Catholic Church which has condemned our Orders, and the Greek Orthodox Church which has not accepted them; on the other side the Scandinavian Churches and the Moravians, towards whom (whatever be their attitude to us) we have shewn considerable hesitation about being too friendly. The Swedish Orders are, we think, correct, the Norwegian are more than doubtful, and the Danish Church does not (it is alleged) claim the succession at all. I venture to think that as regards all alike, if we continue to discuss these doubtful points, nothing effective will ever be accomplished.

To begin with, then, there can be no doubt concerning all of them (with the possible exception of some of the Separated Churches) that, judged by the standard of orthodoxy we have laid down, they are orthodox. They all accept the Christian Scriptures and the Christian Creed as the basis of their teaching. They all recognize Baptism as the Sacrament of initiation, they all celebrate the Lord's Supper with the intent of doing what our Lord did. That is, we all alike accept what is most essential. Now, what is required for a willing and frank Reunion? It is an approach to one another on terms of equality, a frank recognition of one another as we are; and then, as regards the future, that we should none of us be able to question one another's Orders, and should be united as closely as possible in the bonds of a common ministry.

I would suggest, then, that as the act of Reunion we should solemnly and formally recognize one another's Orders as valid and give them authority for our own Church. We should recognize them as valid in regard to the past because in the midst of all the confusion and entanglement of the old controversies there was always the intention of rightfully fulfilling our Lord's will. Our Orders have all been imperfect; they have none of them been really Catholic because they have been the Orders of a divided Church. Let us approach one another, each recognizing our own failures rather than being too anxious to dwell on the imperfections of others.

But as regards the future let us do all we can to make

the situation regular, and to make our Orders Catholic and representative of the whole Church. Let us arrange, therefore, that in each consecration of a bishop in any Church there shall be a bishop from the other Church or Churches that thus join together to take part in the consecration. This we should do for two reasons: The first is that the meaning of the Apostolical Succession in the Church is (as we have maintained) not that it is necessary for the validity of Orders, but that it is an external mark of the unity and continuity of the Church. This mutual participation, therefore, in the consecration of bishops will be the sign that we are one body and not many separated ones. The second reason is that if there has been any defect in the past either in our own Orders or in those of any other Church, we desire to remedy it in the future, and that if there are any who are weak and overscrupulous we may do all that is necessary to overcome these scruples. It is a Christian rule to do all that is reasonable to soothe the scrupulous. If any member of our Church doubts about the validity of Swedish, or Danish, or Moravian Orders, he will remember that if an English bishop takes part in the consecration of all these Churches these defects will be remedied in the future. In the same way, if any Greek or Swede or Jansenist doubt about the Anglican position he will know that a representative of his own Church is always helping to remedy it. And this will be done without any loss of respect on either side, and in the manner best calculated to bring the two Churches into real friendship with one another.

There are various other things on which we differ, some more, some less important. With the exception of one point on which I shall have to speak in a moment, they are none of them such as should prevent Reunion. Let us recognize that the customs of different Churches must be different. We know quite well that we are not going to change our own uses and customs, and it is as unreasonable as it is unwise that we should expect others to do so. If we once begin to multiply our conditions we shall never do anything. It will always be possible to find something further which someone will want changed. On the other

hand, if all these Churches, instead of being in a state of antagonism, are united to one another, the thoughts and life of each will penetrate the other. Each will learn of the other, and a more truly Catholic Christianity will be built up.

It is hardly possible to review our relations with each of these groups, but I would say something more particularly concerning the Moravian, the Scandinavian, the Eastern Orthodox, and the Roman Churches.

I would like to say a few words about the Moravians, as it will, I think, illustrate the position that I would wish to see taken up. There has been considerable discussion between us and them, and a committee of the Lambeth Conference reported that the Orders of the Moravians were not certain. As a result the Lambeth Conference of 1908 laid down somewhat elaborate proposals by which we should confer Orders on the Moravians. I am not surprised that no action has resulted. No action ever will result from such one-sided proposals. The Moravians might quite well reply, "Your Orders are not so certain that we care to put ourselves in such a position as you propose." But if the action were reciprocal, if we were to agree together mutually to recognize one another's Orders, if we were further to say that as a sign of our reunion, and with the purpose of preventing any doubts in the future, we should agree that a Moravian bishop should take part in Anglican consecrations, and an English bishop in Moravian, there would be none of that assumption of ecclesiastical superiority on our part which is as unseemly in us as it is in the Church of Rome.

At the present time English influence is stronger in Scandinavia[1] and among the Scandinavian Churches than

[1] On these Churches see especially *The National Church of Sweden*, by the late Bishop John Wordsworth; *The Church of England and the Church of Sweden*, Report of the Commission appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury; an article by the Rev. Yngve Brilioth in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April, 1920, on "The Church of Sweden in its relation to the Anglican Church." I have to express my personal thanks for information as regards Sweden to Dr. Brilioth, as regards Norway to the Rev. Mikail Hertzberg, of Kristiania, as regards Denmark to an old friend of mine, Dr. Flöystrup, of Copenhagen.

it has been at any other period in recent history. There is, too, a considerable American influence coming from the large number of Scandinavians who have found a home in the United States. It must be recognized, however, that that influence is only partially that of the Church of England; it is largely Nonconformist, or perhaps rather Undenominational. While there are some in the different National Churches whose sympathies are with the historical claims of the Church of England as of their own Church, there are probably a large number who are more definitely what we must call (for want of a better term) Protestant. While a few in Norway and Denmark desire to see the restoration of the Apostolic Succession, there are many who are indifferent, and possibly a majority who would fear it as tending towards Romanism. The Swedish Church cares for its historical position, and its correct Orders, but it would always be with the express understanding that a correct succession is not necessary for valid Orders, and that no such rule should cut them off from communion with the other Lutheran Churches which have not episcopal Orders. On the other hand, there is a definite movement in America for the restoration of an Episcopal organization to the Scandinavian Churches of the United States.

The nearest to us at the present time in organization and tradition is the Church of Sweden, and I know no reason why we should not formally enter into communion with that Church at any rate. It will have to be understood, however, that they reserve their freedom of intercommunion with non-episcopal Churches, and that they are free to retain their own customs. That does not mean that in every case they desire to do so. There are some points on which there has been criticism by members of the English Church—for example, their customs as regards Confirmation, and the absence of a diaconate. There is criticism also in Sweden on these points. But if you attempt to make conditions on any of them you will defeat your whole purpose. We are not going to change our customs for the sake of Reunion, neither will they.

Let me take an instance—Confirmation. I am surprised to see that it is now being proposed that we should insist

upon Confirmation as a condition of Reunion.[1] I am quite certain that if we are going to do that sort of thing we may as well give up talking about Reunion at all. We have a custom of Confirmation in the Church of England, which we believe to be scriptural and wholesome. It has certain characteristics. It is administered by bishops. Its matter consists of laying on of hands. It is administered for the most part to adolescents of about the age of fifteen. This custom is, I believe, most healthy. I much hope that we shall not change it. We have a rule also in our Church for our own members that the normal condition of admission to the Holy Communion is to have been confirmed. That, too, I believe to be a most healthy ecclesiastical discipline. But it is quite another thing to propose that we should require other Churches to adopt our customs as a condition of Reunion.

Just consider the variety of customs with regard to Confirmation in the different branches of Christendom. According to the Roman Church the matter of the Sacrament is not laying on of hands but the chrism. The bishop stretches forth his hand over those to be confirmed, but does not lay hands on them. The ordinary minister of Confirmation is a bishop, but the Canon Law gives a considerable list of circumstances in which it may be conferred by a priest, although the chrism must always be consecrated by a bishop. The ordinary age of Confirmation is somewhat younger than in the Church of England, but I believe always over seven. In the Orthodox Church of the East the ordinary minister of Confirmation is the priest, the matter is the chrism, and the rite is performed on infants at the time of their Baptism. The Lutheran Churches lay more stress on Confirmation than any other branch of the

[1] So Bishop Gore; see the *Church Times*, March 19, 1920. "I will say only one word more, and it is this: I do wish the Lambeth Conference of old, when it promulgated what was called the Lambeth Quadrilateral, and talked about the two Sacraments, had made it quite plain that in the Sacrament of Baptism they included Confirmation. I am quite sure that we are set to guard the sacredness of that Sacrament. I am quite sure that in no circumstances should we be justified in what is constantly suggested—that is, an indiscriminate admission of people to the Holy Communion unconfirmed. People do not really realize how tremendous is the authority," and so on.

Church, but they lay stress on the teaching rather than the sacramental side, and make it the occasion of very careful preparation. It is an important part of their ecclesiastical system, but even in the Churches which are episcopal the bishop is not the necessary minister, and the prayer rather than the laying on of hands is the necessary part of the service. There is variety of custom about the laying on of hands. Now surely with this great variety of customs it is not reasonable to impose any particular point on others as a necessary condition of Reunion. We must each recognize the customs of the other, and it is probable that different Churches if united will learn much from intercourse with one another.

But now another obstacle to Reunion has been found. It is asserted by some that Confirmation must be looked upon as an essential condition of ordination.[1] That is, I am inclined to think, somewhat too orthodox. It is quite true that the Roman Church, since the Council of Trent, has made Confirmation one of the requisites of ordination, and that it is now a part of the Canon Law, just as we make it a necessary condition of Communion; also in those Churches where Confirmation is administered at the time of Baptism, all who are ordained have been necessarily confirmed. These are wholesome and proper rules for any Church to make. But it is quite another thing to say that all these things are necessary and essential, and to do so is to teach contrary to the opinion of older theologians. For instance, in the supplement of the *Summa Theologica* it is argued that Baptism is an essential for anyone who is to be ordained, but that Confirmation, although fitting, is not necessary.[2] There is, I think, a tendency of a certain section of the English Church to be far more orthodox than the most orthodox, to be enamoured of their own correct-

[1] So Bishop Hall, of Vermont (*The Apostolic Ministry : A Charge delivered at the Annual Convention of the Diocese.* 1910. Longmans, Green and Co.): "It certainly would not now be possible to secure the general consent of the bishops to a consecration to the Episcopate or to a conditional ordination to the priesthood without the candidate being first confirmed."

[2] *Summa Theologica*, Supplementum, Quaest XXXV., Art. IV.: "Quanquam maxime conveniens sit, ut qui ordinem suscipiunt sint confirmati, hoc tamen necessarium non est."

ness, to desire to impose whatever they do on others, and to forget that there has been in the Christian Church very great variety of custom, and that unless we recognize that no Reunion of Churches is possible.

These remarks will apply equally strongly as regards our relations to the Eastern Orthodox Church. Unless both Churches recognize so much no intercommunion or Reunion is possible. Each Church, while perhaps tenacious of many of its own customs, must learn to respect those of the other. The Greek will not give up their use of the chrism in Confirmation, or their reverence for ikons, or their other customs which we may be inclined to criticize. We, on the other hand, do not intend to administer Confirmation in any other way than we do at present or to change our customs. But it may be quite possible for each of us to learn some things of the other in the future.

There are three main points on which explanation and recognition are necessary.

The first is the *filioque* clause. This is a point on which we are in the wrong, but on which agreement will not be difficult. There is, in the first place, the question of doctrine. Here a formula of concord has, I think, been attained. We are able to accept mutually the language of St. John of Damascus as an adequate explanation of the phraseology both of the East and West. The West can assert that it does not mean to imply that there are two beginnings or first principles in the Godhead, the East can recognize that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father through the Son. Such an explanation may satisfy either side.[1] The further question of the interpolation of the Creed may, I believe, be solved equally satisfactorily. Let us frankly and definitely confess that the interpolation was irregular and unauthorized, and let us be ready when we meet in a united Council to join in repeating the uninterpolated Creed; but we may reasonably ask that in our own formularies we should use those Creeds to which we are accustomed. What seems to me forbidden is for anyone to impose such an interpolated Creed on others as essential.

The second point is the united recognition of Orders.

[1] See above, p. 181.

We should, of course, be ready to give any explanation for which we are asked, and to exhibit both the regularity of our succession and the sufficiency of our formularies, but we must make it quite clear that the only condition on which Reunion or intercommunion in any form is possible is that our Orders should be looked upon as sufficient. On the other hand we are anxious for the sake of cementing the union between the Churches and to avoid any occasion for offence that an Eastern bishop representing the Oecumenical Patriarch in England should take part in episcopal consecrations here, and an English bishop at Constantinople should in the same way take part in consecrations in the Eastern Church.

The third point is the union in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. On this point we must agree that no definition or formulary is of any universal authority. We must be prepared to say that we each accept the doctrine and intention of the other as implied in our Liturgies as adequate, and that neither Church wishes to impose on the other either its statements of doctrine or its denials. We recognize that the term "Transubstantiation," which is used by the Greek and denied by us, is capable of considerable variety of explanation, and that no formula will ever be sufficient to define or explain so great a mystery.

And then, lastly, there are our relations with the Church of Rome. It must be frankly confessed that so far as we can see there is no possibility at present of any different relations than those now prevailing. Whenever any change is made by the Church of Rome it is almost invariably towards greater rigidity and uniformity. It less and less shews any desire to approach other religious bodies or to make any accommodation with modern thought, and in its claims to jurisdiction it opposes a barrier which is, as far as can be seen, insurmountable against all other Churches.

Let me lay down the conditions which, as it seems to me, are, from our point of view, essential.

There is, first of all, the recognition of our Orders. The decision of Leo XIII. in the Bull *Apostolicae Curae* has stopped all possible approaches between the two Churches. We know that we are a sufficient and adequate branch of

the Catholic Church, and until that is fully and frankly recognized no *rapprochement* is possible.

Then, secondly, it must be recognized that as we are a sufficient branch of the Catholic Church, we are competent to regulate our own affairs, to have our own Liturgies, rites, and ceremonies, and are not subject to the regulations which the Church of Rome sees fit to impose upon itself.

And then, thirdly, there is the Roman claim to jurisdiction. That is the fundamental point on which all difficulties turn. I do not think that for many English Churchmen the special doctrinal points which have bulked so large in controversy in the past would seem so serious now. What is wrong is not so much or necessarily the teaching of the Roman Church as the claim that it makes to impose it on others. Supposing, for example, that the Church of France were to become a separate and independent Church, repudiating the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, but preserving all its customs and teaching, I do not think that there would be any good reason on our part for not entering into communion with it provided we, too, were left free to preserve our customs. Experience seems to shew that it would be quite possible so to organize the Church of England that all members of the Roman Church now living in England might have in communion with it the religious system (apart from the Pope) to which they are accustomed. In any reunited Church the Bishop of Rome would be recognized as *primus* among the Patriarchs, with the honour and position we would grant to other Patriarchs.

But the one definite fact which prevents all approach to the Church of Rome is the claim to jurisdiction and the demand for submission. The result of our historical inquiry is to demonstrate that it was this claim to exercise authority over other Churches that was the fundamental cause of the first great Christian schism, and it is this which distinguishes the Church of Rome from all other Churches at the present day. In no other case is there this difficulty. No other Church claims as a condition of Reunion submission. Other Churches are prepared to approach one another on equal terms. To us, as to other Churches,

submission is impossible. Unless this claim is given up, unless a change takes place in the Church of Rome itself, negotiations are impossible.

These last paragraphs I have inserted, not because I believe that there is any chance of what is suggested happening, but because I believe that it is our duty, in considering a question such as that of Reunion, to survey our relations with all other Christian bodies and to attempt to discover the fundamental points on which we are separated from them or agree with them.

III

The next group that we have to consider consists of those National Churches which have not an episcopal organization. They are the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, the Lutheran Church of Germany, the Dutch Church, and the Reformed Churches of Switzerland. We may confine ourselves under present conditions to the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

Twice in history has Reunion been attempted between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, on the basis of restoring episcopacy to Scotland, and on both occasions it failed. In 1610 Spottiswoode and two other presbyters, presbyterially ordained, were sent to England to receive episcopal consecration. They were not first ordained deacons or priests. Those who were consecrated by Spottiswoode and his colleagues were not episcopally ordained before consecration, and the Presbyterian ministers who were in their parishes in 1610 were never asked or expected to receive episcopal ordination. Under Charles II. Archbishop Sharpe and his colleagues were ordained deacons and priests before they were consecrated, but some of those who were consecrated by him were not ordained deacons and priests, and Presbyterian ministers were left in possession of their parishes without any form of reordination.

It is necessary to point out that some ambiguity of principle underlies the action of the Church of England in consecrating Spottiswoode. The motives which prompted it might be twofold. On the one hand, they might mean a recognition of Presbyterian ordinations, on the other side

the action might be justified by the principle of ordination *per saltum*. The conferment of the episcopal office implies the conferment of all other Orders, so that it is not necessary to ordain first to the diaconate and the priesthood. I do not feel that there is any disadvantage in such ambiguity. If we once attempt to agree on our motives for action as well as on our actions, we shall find ourselves in an impossible position. It is quite honourable that one ordained a presbyter by Presbyterians should be willing for the sake of Christian unity to be consecrated a bishop, although he feels that his Presbyterian Orders are valid; and he can do so without any loss of self-respect, although a somewhat scrupulous Anglican may feel assured that all will be right in the future because ordination *per saltum* is sufficient.[1]

I would suggest, then, that the precedent of 1610 should be followed. The two Churches should formally and solemnly each recognize the Orders of the other Church as valid, and that each Church should give to the ministers of the other Church authority to minister to its people. Then should follow the restoration of episcopacy and of episcopal ordination for the sake of unity. Those who are presbyters of the Church, and who are elected to hold the office of bishop in the future, will be consecrated by bishops of the Anglican and, it may be hoped, other bodies. It would be right that in all ordinations in the future those ordained with Presbyterian Orders should join with those ordained with Episcopal Orders in the laying on of hands, and that thus the unity of the two Churches should be formally asserted.

No doubt criticisms will be made against this proposal. Some people will argue, What need for these changes? Are not Presbyterian Orders good enough? If you admit that those ordained with Presbyterian Orders are validly ordained what need of episcopacy? To that I would reply that it is one thing to say that Orders are valid: it is another thing to say that they are regular according to

[1] On Orders conferred *per saltum* see the article of Monseigneur Duchesne, quoted on p. 284 above. See also Bishop J. Wordsworth, *Ordination Problems* and *Answer of the Archbishops of England to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XII.*, p. 24.

Catholic rule, that, as we have seen, the purpose and end of the rules of the Catholic Church were to promote order and unity, and the departure from them has been the fruitful cause of disunion. It is of the essence of the spirit of Christian unity to be ready to conform to the traditions of the Church; it is the opposite to that spirit which creates dissensions. Unless you have a unity of Orders you will not obtain any real unity.

Supposing that you have a Church in Scotland organized on a Presbyterian model: its members will be naturally attached to the form of Church government to which they are accustomed. When they go elsewhere they will take with them their Presbyterian model, will organize churches on that form, and will inevitably form a separate and inharmonious element in religious life. This is just what has happened in all the English-speaking colonies. In them the three most important religious bodies are the Church of England, the Presbyterians, and the Roman Catholics. That is the case, for example, in Australia. These divisions correspond roughly with the three different nationalities. We must, I am afraid, put on one side the Roman Catholics at present. If we take the other two we shall find that their persistent separation is a great cause of religious weakness. In Australia, at any rate, this is felt, and there is considerable desire for the two bodies to be united on terms such as those that I have suggested. Here we can see the evil of the persistency of hostile traditions. What is necessary is to unite the two traditions in one society which will inherit all that is best in both.

It is said next that the events of 1610, and still more those of Charles II.'s reign, are not good precedents. From one point of view the precedent is good, from another it is not. It does not seem to me that we can raise any serious objection to the ecclesiastical arrangement which satisfied the English Church in the reign of James I. But where the precedent is a bad one and must not be followed is this. In both cases episcopacy was imposed upon a Church from above and from outside. Any such movement would always be disastrous. No union between two Churches which is merely engineered by the civil power,

or is arranged by leading divines without having popular life behind it, is of any value. Still less will this be the case when the Church of another country imposes itself upon a body like the Church of Scotland. Leading men may take the initiative, but Reunion must be the Reunion of the whole Church. The Church of another country may make the approach, but it must not be with any feeling of superiority. It must rather say, Let us consider what are the traditional principles of Church Order; let us try to agree together; and let us unite on that basis, each giving the other what it can.

Now in Scotland there is going on a great movement of Reunion. The old sectarianism of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century is fast disappearing. The different Presbyterian bodies have agreed together to give up those distinctive marks on which they prided themselves, and it is probable that in a few years there will be one united Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and that it will be in a very real sense a National Church. But the spirit of Reunion will have been roused. There will be a real movement towards a larger unity. The historical and Catholic feelings of the Scottish people will be stirred. They will want to be in more complete union with their own past. No one can feel that either the Roman Catholic or the Episcopal Church in Scotland represents the whole of the historical elements in Christianity in that country. Presbyterianism asserted and established an element that had been suppressed. But neither does Presbyterianism represent the complete Christian tradition. Those who have gone so far on the path of Reunion will want to go farther, and will desire to be united with other Christian bodies and to build up a larger Christian unity. At any rate, however much divines may discuss with one another, true unity will only come when the Christian peoples are stirred.

Reunion must be the work of the Scottish people themselves. There is a Scottish Episcopal Church with which we are in communion, and any negotiations proposed for Reunion with the Presbyterians in Scotland must come from them. They share in the inheritance of a Church which was episcopal from 1610 to 1638. They represent

a distinct element in Scottish religious history. They are Scottish and not English. The United Church of Scotland should be distinctively Scottish. It is often asserted that the most distinctive feature of the Church of Scotland is the General Assembly. If that be so, there is no reason why it should not be preserved in the future. The due rights of the presbyters would always have to be asserted and guaranteed. If it is desirable that Scotland and England should be united on the basis of the Historical Episcopate, it is certainly not to be desired that there should be any excessive uniformity, or that distinctive national characteristics should be lost.

Greater unity can only come because the spirit of unity is stirring among the people, but it is the duty of theologians to be ready to say how any movement that arises may express itself.

IV

We now come to the most vital part of our problem, Home Reunion. Is there any possibility of restoring a united Church of England, one which might include the vast majority of religious people in the country, and might combine together our broken Christian traditions?

I believe that that is the desire of the greater number of people among us. There are, of course, some who are devotedly attached to the particular religious community to which they belong, and feel a certain antagonism to all others; but if a vote could be taken of the nation it would express without any hesitation its desire to do away with Christian disunion. Some are more, some less religious, few, I think, are anti-religious, but they are impatient of Christian divisions, and entirely indifferent to all the points of theological controversy. I imagine, further, that if they were given free action they would carry out their will with entire indifference to all the many scruples which Church-people and Nonconformists alike would feel. They would quite ruthlessly sweep away everything which interfered with their will. I would even go farther and say that it is conceivable that something of this sort may happen. If we on our part and the Nonconformists on theirs are

too slow, if we continue to put every obstacle in the way that an excessive scrupulousness may suggest, a popular movement, working with the authority of Parliament, might take the matter up, might sweep away a great deal that it might be wiser to retain, and might leave those who were not prepared to accept their somewhat drastic reforms isolated and helpless.

Such a proceeding would be, I think, most unfortunate. A democratic movement is often right in what it aims at, and almost invariably wrong (unless wisely instructed) in the way in which it seeks to attain its end. A democracy has little knowledge or experience in statesmanship. It is our duty to recognize the demand and think out the principles on which Reunion may be possible. If the motive power come from a popular demand, this directing influence must come from above. Nor have I any doubt that one of the chief reasons why so many men of different religious belief have shewn themselves ready to make great sacrifices in the cause of Reunion is not only that they are themselves stricken in conscience, but also are responsive to this half-expressed desire that there is in people's minds.

There is a real desire for union, but in the case of Reunion at home the problem has some elements of greater difficulty, because a closer unity is necessary in a National Church than between two bodies in different countries, such as the English and the Eastern Churches. There is no particular inconvenience in considerable variety of ecclesiastical custom between two bodies living some thousands of miles apart. But if there is too great variety between the Churches of two neighbouring parishes, it will cause inconvenience and perplexity. We have thus the problem not only of creating ecclesiastical unity, but of creating within this unity a Church which will have a real unity of life, without necessarily exhibiting a too rigid uniformity. We may recognize that the differences of customs in different religious bodies and also in different ecclesiastical parties correspond in many cases to religious, social, and intellectual needs, and that if we were to destroy variety in creating unity we should weaken disastrously the religious life of

the country. But this variety must be compatible with the vigorous life of real organic unity.

With this double aim then—unity and variety—I will lay down somewhat dogmatically, the principles which I believe we ought to follow.

1. The first point, in harmony with what we have said already, must be that we are ready as a condition of Reunion to recognize the validity of the Orders and Sacraments of those who have desired earnestly and solemnly to carry out the intention of Christ and His Apostles as exhibited to us in the New Testament—that is, of all who ordain with laying on of hands and prayer, who baptize with water and the use of the words ordered by our Lord, who celebrate the Holy Communion as our Lord directed, and with the unfailing use of the words of institution.

It must be recognized that in some religious bodies there has been great carelessness about such things. There are some that have been careless and indifferent about the administration of Baptism, and also about Holy Communion. Their ordinations have been irregular, not only according to our rules, but according to any rule. I remember reading the account of the ordination of a distinguished Nonconformist divine, in which the chief part of the ceremony, if it was reported correctly, consisted in the ordained shaking hands with the assembled ministers.

Now such irregularities seem to me to exhibit a spirit of self-assertion and innovation contrary to the teaching of the Gospel. If we are to recognize as a sufficient basis of union a real intention to fulfil the commands of our Lord and the customs of the Apostles, we must have clear and certain evidence that that has been done. We cannot recognize slovenliness and indifference.

2. Then, secondly, if two religious bodies have thus united in their corporate capacity, each should solemnly recognize the ministers of the other and give them a commission under the new conditions. The Presbyterian, the Wesleyan, and the Congregational ministers in this country may have an adequate commission given them from their own body: they have no commission from ours. That we should give them. It may remain for further consideration

how we should do it. I would only say that it should not be, in my opinion, with laying on of hands. That has already been done. The essence of a Sacrament lies in the prayers of the Church. These prayers have been offered up with the Apostolic custom of the laying on of hands. I do not think that should be repeated. The Sacramental part of the rite has been performed. But the ecclesiastical rules have not been fulfilled. The essential part of them is the ordination by a bishop. That being a rule of the Church, the Church can dispense with it, and without it can confer authority on those already ordained. In the same way the other communities with which we unite may recognize our Orders and give authority in their own community to us.

3. The rule of the Church in the future must in all cases be episcopal ordination. Some members of the reunited Churches will be consecrated bishops in the manner suggested in the case of the Presbyterians. They will, of course, take part in other consecrations and ordinations in the future, and those who have been recognized as presbyters will take part in the laying on of hands in ordination. And I would say this also to those who are thus united with us. If the Church as a whole recognizes that their Orders and ministration have been valid in the past, they must be ready to satisfy in the future the demand of the more scrupulous. They must be careful, as Christian unity and charity alike demand, to do all in their power to make their Orders and Sacraments regular in the future.

On the other hand, care must be taken that the full constitutional rights of presbyters as of the laity are guaranteed. We do not want any possibility of a return to prelacy.

4. It will be apparent that such a reunion cannot take place without much theological discussion as to the customs and ordinances of the United Church. There must be a certain definite unity of life and worship. In particular, the celebration of the Sacraments must be carefully guarded and regulated. There must be one Baptism. Variety of ceremonial will be allowed, but there must be one service for Holy Communion, one such for Confirmation, one

Ordination service for all. The unity will be guaranteed by the bishop, and by the meeting of all the ministers of religion and representatives of the laity in ruri-decanal conferences and diocesan synods.

5. But within this unity there must be recognized a considerable variety of religious custom. Wherever a Church is really the Church of a whole people, there must be in any developed society room for variety. The great Medieval Church which at one time seemed to have solved the problem of unity without uniformity presents a varied aspect of religious custom. Besides the old-established parochial system, there were the churches of the religious orders with their various appeals to popular feeling. Later it failed because its rulers had become unspiritual and therefore could not assimilate the popular religious movements. The Church of England has failed to be a complete National Church because it has been too anxious to mould all piety on one model. With more breadth of sympathy it might have absorbed the Presbyterians at the Restoration. If it had had rather more spiritual life it might have retained the Wesleyans. It has only succeeded in harmonizing the vigorous life of Evangelicals and Tractarians by looking on a great deal of ecclesiastical law as obsolete. There are at the present time many various forms of worship and different types of piety within the Church of England. There is a certain amount of pressure being exerted by some ecclesiastical authorities to restrain this variety. It must be quite clear that if the Church is to be in any way national this variety must be allowed, and if there is to be any real movement towards Reunion this variety will be increased. The problem of statesmanship in the future must be the combination of variety of worship with unity and order. There must be a standard type of worship which will be required in every parish church. There must be great variety allowed in any district or congregational church. There must be a definite element of congregationalism, but it must be an orderly, and not a disorderly, congregationalism. The separated Churches which are united with us will find their unity in taking part and sharing in all Church synods and other

corporate Church life, in common activities, in the recognition of the authority of the diocesan bishop, but, subject to such points as are agreed upon as essential, they will preserve the freedom of their own customs.

It seems to me that thus, also, by a full and complete Reunion we shall be able to solve our own problems. The fundamental cause of disunion in the Church of England is that we have not decided or even attempted to decide what is essential and what is not essential for Church unity. If we have to face the problem of including in the unity of the one Church religious societies like that of the Wesleyans which will desire to preserve their own distinctive religious life, we shall not feel any greater difficulty in regulating the freedom which Ritualists or Evangelicals may demand for themselves. Whether as a result of the change which is proposed there would be a tendency to greater unity or greater variety we cannot tell. I believe that with the varied tastes, dispositions, and antecedents of modern life, there might be even a greater tendency to variety of worship, but if certain principles of unity have been accepted that need not create any great difficulty.

Towards such unity in variety we have made already considerable preparations. The fundamental condition of Church life in the present age must be that every congregation must have a real voice in the regulation of divine service. The first step to that has been made in the creation of the Church Roll, the Church Meeting, the Church Council. A step has been made also towards a moderate congregationalism by allowing everyone to enrol himself in the parish in which he is a regular worshipper. The further step will be the allowance of non-parochial congregationalism. Let me take an illustration. The Church of the Cowley Fathers in Oxford plays a definite part in our religious life, and enables those who wish it to have a type of service which would certainly not be suitable for an ordinary parish. I do not see in any way why the Congregational, the Presbyterian, the Wesleyan Churches should not equally take their place in the common Church life, provided that there is a unity of faith and order.

The problem, then, before the religious life of England is

this: Are we prepared to lay aside our antagonisms and differences, to join together in common council, to agree together on the essential basis of unity, and on that basis to build up a united Church combining our many differences which shall correspond to the varying needs of the religious life of the day?

V

We are now approaching the end of our task, and I will shortly state my conclusions. There have been two theses that it has been my purpose to maintain in these lectures. The first is the conception of the Church. I have tried to shew that part of our Lord's purpose was to found a religious society in which His followers would be bound together in the ties of brotherhood, and that this society it is which has come to be called the Christian Church. As such it is an essential part of Christianity. We studied its characteristics in the early centuries. The basis of faith was the acceptance of Christ. That belief was formulated in a Creed which did not bind the Church by minute or burdensome dogmatic statements. Our Lord had instituted Sacraments, as St. Augustine reminds us, few in number. His Church had an organization, developed out of the ministry appointed by our Lord Himself, which maintained unity and freedom. We have seen, too, how the unity of this Church was broken, and we found the causes in the desire to exercise authority over others, in the breaking down of the Catholic conception of Church order, in the rise of sectarianism, and in the attempt made by theologians and parties in the Church to impose their particular tenets on the Church as a whole.

Our second thesis concerned the question of Orders. We have discussed the question as to what constitutes a valid or correct ordination. We have found theories prevailing which tend to make Sacraments depend upon the correct fulfilment of certain mechanical requirements. Sometimes it is stated that in ordination a certain *character* or power is conferred by the correct use of the right matter and form. If the correct form of words is not used then the Sacrament is of no avail. The other theory makes

Orders depend upon the possession of the Apostolic Succession. For example, if there is a flaw in the consecration of Archbishop Parker, the English Church is without Sacraments or Orders. Both these theories have seemed to us mechanical, magical, unreal, and inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity. We found also that they were not held in the early Christian centuries. The idea of the *character* was, indeed, a later development of a certain teaching of St. Augustine, but was really inconsistent with his theology. The Early Church recognized the value of the succession of Christian bishops as a guarantee of the correct traditions of the Christian religion, but had no theory of succession by ordination. What was believed was that the Sacraments were duly administered because they were the Sacraments of the Church and of Christ. The only conditions for which there is any real authority in the New Testament is that ministers were appointed by laying on of hands and prayer. It was natural and right that the Church should make regulations for the future administration of the Sacraments and should appoint the bishop as the proper minister of ordination, but the Sacraments depend not on the ministry, but on the Church, and within the Church, if they are administered according to the teaching of the New Testament and with the intention of doing what Christ and His Apostles did, they are valid.

Whether these two theses are correct I must now leave to the judgement of critics.

On the basis of these I have proposed a practical policy for Reunion which consists of two main principles. The first is that as a step to and as a part of the process of Reunion we must recognize the validity of all Orders conferred by the laying on of hands with the intention of fulfilling the command of our Lord and the teaching of His Apostles, and that also all other Sacraments thus performed are valid. The second proposal is the establishment of Episcopacy, and the rule of episcopal ordination and consecration as the recognized common basis of Church order.

In favour of such a policy I would put to you this. It is in accordance with the principles of our own Church

and of the Catholic Church that we can recognize nothing as necessary for salvation, and therefore for the due administration of these Sacraments which are generally necessary for salvation, that cannot be proved by Scripture. Nothing in the New Testament will authorize us to say that a particular minister or a particular form of words is necessary for ordination. Any religious body being, as it is, a part of Christ's Church, which has done what He commanded with full intent of carrying out His will, must be considered to have received all that He promised in His Sacraments. But the Church had authority given to it, and in accordance with that authority it has instituted the Catholic order which we have inherited. That ministry made for Christian unity, and the neglect of it has been both the cause and the result of dissension. A necessary part, therefore, of the restoration of unity must be the restoration of the Catholic Church order.

Moreover, those who are ordained to minister in that body to which they belong have no commission from others or from the Church as a whole. It will, therefore, be a necessary condition of Reunion that each body should give a full recognition to the ministers of the other. For that the authority of the Church is adequate. To those who have dispensed with or failed to carry out our Lord's command, I do not see that we can give any authority or recognition, but for what is a breach of ecclesiastical rule the authority of the Church will be sufficient to condone it. The Church, therefore, will not be exceeding its prerogatives in recognizing the Orders of any separated body of Christians as the condition of Reunion provided they have been sacramentally performed—that is, with laying on of hands and prayer.

Now I have no doubt that it will be said that, even if the whole Church might accomplish this, it would not be competent for the Church of England alone. We must not act independently of the Church of Rome or of the Eastern Church, and it will be alleged that if we do anything of this sort we shall damage the possibility of future Reunion on a larger scale. Such an argument seems to me to minimize unduly the authority of our own Church, nor

do I believe that if in this way we were to create a National Church, or even a large and united Church for the Anglo-Saxon world as a whole on the basis of the traditional Church order, we should at all injure our prospects of further Reunion in East or West. Our separation from other branches of Christ's Church is none of our own doing, but we have acted, and our claim is that we are competent to act, as a complete and autonomous Church. As such we have introduced many changes and considerable reform. We are competent to act subject to the revision, if it should ever be held, of an oecumenical synod. Nothing else can have any authority over us. The Church of Christ finds itself faced with grave disasters, and it is for us to take the lead in initiating such a policy as may repair these disasters.

In particular, we have organized ourselves, and been compelled to organize ourselves, apart from the Church of Rome. We have done so because it has made claims and imposed conditions which are inconsistent with Catholic Christianity. What authority can we give to a Church which has refused to recognize our Orders? Nor do I believe that any such action of ours would ultimately injure our position. Rome does not recognize us at present. Such action which would leave our Orders quite sound in the technical sense would do nothing to make it more difficult for her to do so. In any case it is the duty of the Church of England, as the most progressive of the Catholic Churches, boldly to look facts in the face, and to revise our own theories in accordance with historical criticism.

Nor do I believe that this will in any way injure us in relation to the Eastern Church. The Eastern Church is very friendly towards the Church of England at the present time, for various reasons, political and other; but it looks at things from a different point of view from what we do. To many members of the Church of England the gap between it and Protestant Nonconformity seems a large one; it does not seem so to the Greek Church. They look at Western Christendom from outside. It differs so much from them that the smaller shades of differences do not appeal to them to such an extent as some imagine. They

know what a small factor in American religious life is played by the Protestant Episcopal Church. What they would look forward to, if they changed from their present position of isolation, would be not a union merely between themselves and us, but a union with a far larger body of Christians. As one of them expressed it to me, what we desire is a great union of all Christians against the power of materialism. It would not be much more difficult for them to recognize Presbyterian Orders than Anglican Orders. They might very probably recognize both on the condition of regulation in the future. You must not imagine that other religious bodies think as much of Anglican Orders as some of us do. They would be far more likely to follow our lead in a wise and effective policy, than to shew any particular respect for us if in a timid attitude of deference to them we continued in our present attitude of weak isolation from all those Christians around us.

Then next I would put it you to that the only practical policy for Reunion will be one based on the mutual recognition of Orders. We know what our feelings are in the Church of England; we will certainly have nothing to do with the Church of Rome unless Rome is prepared to recognize our Orders. It is exactly the same with regard to the Eastern Church. If they were to come to us and say that our Orders were invalid or doubtful, and that a condition of Reunion would be that our clergy should be reordained, do you suppose that we should pay any attention to them? If that be so, cannot we understand that that may be exactly the position in regard to the Presbyterians? Do you suppose that the Presbyterian Church of Scotland would accede to any proposal for Reunion unless we were prepared to recognize the validity of their Orders and ministry. And that recognition would have to be mutual. There are, in fact, two ways in which Christian Churches at the present time may approach one another. There is the method of ecclesiastical superiority. We can receive others coming to us seated in our chair. That will be a quite fatal method to pursue. The second method is that we advance towards others without any such feeling of superiority, conscious of our own rather than of others'

imperfections, ready to consult with them as to what we might do in order to make Christianity more effective and powerful. If we are prepared to approach one another on the basis of religious equality, our work may not be fruitless.

You will remember that when we were studying the theology of St. Augustine we noticed how in the face of a great problem of Reunion the Christian Church wholly modified its policy. The African Church had rebaptized and reordained heretics and schismatics. It changed its practice. I suggested that that should be a model for us at the present time. We are faced with a great problem of Reunion. We have a theory of Orders, or rather some members of the Church of England have a theory of Orders, which will make Reunion impossible, and which is, I believe, without sufficient historical support. We need the same boldness as the Church then exhibited. It has been objected to me that the position is not the same, because in the fourth and fifth centuries all schismatics had episcopal Orders. St. Augustine, it is maintained, would never have recognized the Orders of those not episcopally ordained. That misses the point. The analogy that I wish to make is that the Church of Africa had the courage to recognize facts and give up an untenable theory, and that we also should have the honesty to recognize that our theories are equally untenable. But I will go farther and say that, judging from the paramount importance which St. Augustine ascribed to Reunion, and his strongly Evangelical theory of Sacraments and ministry, there would have been no want of boldness in his policy at the present day, and that if he had been confronted by the situation which is before us now he would not have allowed a theory of Orders which he did not hold to hinder Christian unity.

There is shortly to be held a meeting of the Lambeth Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion from all parts of the world. It is recognized that the most urgent question before them will be this question of Reunion. Everywhere in the Christian world there is a desire to do away with the present state of disorder and chaos. Everywhere people are anxious to come together and look for a

lead. If that body were to be prepared to lay down as the necessary condition of Reunion the mutual recognition of Orders, demanding nothing more than the correct fulfilment of our Lord's commands and instructions, and the general acceptance of episcopal Orders for the future and remit the matter to the several local Churches with power to act, in the next few years great progress might be made. If no change takes place in our attitude, and no action can be taken after this conference meets until another conference meets ten years hence, nothing but futility will result from our talk.

Much will depend upon the spirit in which different bodies come towards one another, and I would, as a conclusion, say something to the Nonconformists on one side and to the Anglo-Catholics on the other.

I would remind the Nonconformists of the intense bitterness which has been stirred up during the last fifty years by their political action as regards in particular education and disestablishment. For the last twenty years the aim of the Church of England has been to secure equality of opportunity in religious education. They have been fighting for liberty, liberty to teach their faith, not liberty to prevent religious teaching. They have found themselves until quite recently opposed in every direction. They have been ready to grant full freedom of religious teaching to Nonconformists, if they could have similar freedom themselves, but they have found themselves opposed by a union of nonconformity and sectarianism, and the result has been most disastrous to the religious and moral well-being of the country. In the last few years there has come in in some quarters a new spirit, a desire for co-operation in religious education. If that spirit prevails the several Churches will come very much nearer one another.

The second point is that of disestablishment. The bitterness that has been exhibited by the attacks on the Welsh Church, and the determination to deprive it of much of its endowments, has left behind it deep resentment. We have not, except incidentally, discussed the relations of Church and State. The problem would have extended our task too far. What it is necessary now to emphasize is that very

varied relations have prevailed from time to time between Church and State, and there will probably be variety in the future. It is not possible to lay down any general principle. It must be recognized that wherever there is a strong National Church holding a large property the State will demand to exercise some control over it. The State will always claim authority "in all causes as well ecclesiastical as civil" which concerns the property, the rights, and the liberty of subjects of the Crown, and as Nonconformists have often found it will claim the right of revising the decisions of an ecclesiastical body. Every Nonconformist Church at the present time is to a certain extent established. It must be recognized, further, that some form of national recognition of religion will always be demanded by the religious conscience of the nation. If anyone approaches the problem of Reunion with the statement, "I would never be a member of an Established Church," he is putting his own prejudices in the place of Christianity. That is not the spirit in which any progress can be made. If we are to discuss any such matters with profit we must lay aside our prejudices. We must be prepared to discuss our differences without as a preliminary insisting upon the acceptance of our own conclusions. There must be no more of the spirit of self-will.

On the other side there are certain English Churchmen who, whenever any proposal for Reunion is made, immediately begin to assert, and in a somewhat noisy manner, their principles. That is, of course, legitimate, although they have the habit of doing it in a somewhat domineering fashion. But when they state that if the voice of the Church to which they belong arrives at a conclusion with which they disagree they will not be loyal to it, that is the spirit of Protestantism and sectarianism in its worst form. The fruitful cause of division has always been that individuals and parties have refused to listen to the voice of the Church. If we believe in the principles which are supposed to dominate Catholic Christianity we must be prepared to accept the decisions at which the Church arrives. Let us defend our convictions with any learning or ability that we may possess. That is right enough.

But to begin a controversy by refusing to be bound by any decision that we dislike, and to threaten disruption if we do not get our own way, is to show a want of faith in the reasonableness of our own cause, and a want of faith in God's guidance of His Church.

But the future of religion in England, and the possibility of creating one National Church, does not depend upon these men only. There is, I believe, in the country a strong desire for Christian unity. Thoughtful men of every religious body recognize how much Christianity is weakened by our divisions. They feel that if all the power and earnestness which we at present display in strengthening our separate communities against one another were to be concentrated in preaching the Christian message to the world, Christian love and Christian faith would begin to abound. The world needs that we should strengthen spiritual principles against materialism and selfishness. To that end we must put aside self-will and self-assertion; we must be ready to listen and to learn, as well as to teach. Faith, humility, and charity must be the weapons with which we attempt to recreate the sense of brotherhood and of divine things in the world.

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